

Decolonial Daydreams | Taba Aiboli
An exploration of the construction of female power
Amongst the Lozi people

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A minor dissertation submitted in *partial fulfilment* of the requirements for the award of the degree
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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed and has been cited and referenced.

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We are descended from stars and gathering the scattered pieces of ourselves

The question is do we feel worthy of self-knowledge?

It is death to ego, a sacred suicide

It is a laying down of bones

from third eye cranium to jointed toes

we are not learning something new, we are
remembering...

- Chaze Matakala (2016)

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Abstract

This thesis offers an exploration of the construction of female power amongst the Lozi people of the western province of Zambia, also known as Barotseland. Colonial empirical texts, contemporary literature on Lozi social history, heritage and public culture gloss over the matriarchal roots of Lozi society, leading to the collective, individual and intellectual imperative of this study. Insights necessary for engagement point to the dynamic role of gender in the origin, enactment and preservation of the Lozi royal kinship structure.

Building on existing work on the origins of the Lozi royal kinship and the shifts of power through the (post)colonial political periods, the main objective of this research project is to conduct qualitative research into the dynamic role of gender in Lozi society.

Data was based on a review of literature on the Lozi people and semi-structured interviews with nine Key Informants in Barotseland who bear embodied knowledge on the ideology of the Lozi royal kinship structure and the sociocultural systems apparent in Lozi society.

A qualitative thematic network data analysis demonstrated political motherhood as a mechanism to act as a balancing check on the patrilineal system. The cross-cutting theme of political motherhood across generations and gender is manifested in the roles of Natamoyo and Mukwae Ngula, who are the respective male and female Ministers of Justice. In addition to these roles which emerge from an operative ethic of communalism are the council of women known as Anatambumu. The findings of this research indicate that there are cohesive interacting sociocultural systems that are focused on the mother figure

(matrifocal) and also endorsing descent through the male line (patrilineal). Moreover, analysis of the responses shows that there is a strong correlation between the physical geography of Barotseland and the divine ancestresses, Mbuyu and her mother Mwambwa.

On this basis it is recommend that the effects of the integration of Barotseland into the postcolonial state of Zambia be studied further, especially as it pertains to political motherhood, marriage and systems of descent amongst the Lozi.

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Glossary

Silozi – English

Aluyi/Aluyana – the ancestors of the Lozi royal family who settled in Barotseland in present day Western province of Zambia.

Anatambumu – a council of very influential and senior female royal family members who are known as “Mothers of the King”

Balois – Other wives to the Litunga

Imwambo – The senior wife to the Litunga

Induna – Chief

Ishee – Duke/spouse to a Mukwae. The title is combined with the area where the father to the Mukwae originates from/is buried.

Kuomboka – A cultural event in Barotseland which takes place at the end of the rainy season when the plains of the upper Zambezi flood and the Litunga moves from the palace in Lealui to the palace on higher ground in Limilunga. The word means ‘to get out of the water.’

Kuta –Court or inner council

Linabi – child of the Litunga

Litunga – Land / Leader / caretaker of the Earth

Litunga la Mboela – Land / Leader of the South

Makololo - A group of Sotho people who had fled north as a result of the Shakan revolution in present-day South Africa and conquered Barotseland from 1840 to 1864.

Mboanjikana- the third in power in the Lozi royal kinship structure

Mukwae – Princess

Mukwae Ngula – the most senior princess, who acts as Minister of Justice.

Nalikwanda – The royal barge for the Litunga during the Kuomboka ceremony

Natamoyo – The only one titled position for a prince. The word means “life-giver” or “Mother of Life”

Ngambela – Prime Minister of Barotseland

CHAPTER 1 Introduction

An archive is a collective memory bank of any given human population. For the Lozi people of the Western province of Zambia, also known as Barotseland, the time has come to reconfigure this archive in order to recalibrate the cultural capital of the Lozi people from a decolonial and gendered perspective.

This research contributes to archives of the Lozi people of the Western Province of Zambia. The study problematises Lozi cultural practices by examining gender within lineage and socio-political ideologies. The question of the nature of the centralised administration of the Lozi people requires an interrogation of the role that women play in social and political processes and the significance of gender within lineage. According to Mainga (1976:99) “the name Lozi describes a number of sub-tribal groups which were brought together and to some extent turned into a homogenous cultural and political entity by a highly centralised administration.”

This research began in 2016 with my Bachelor of Arts Honours specialising in heritage and public culture at the University of Cape Town. My thesis was on the two women in power in the Lozi royal kinship structure, Mboanjikana and Litunga la Mboela, which provided a foundation for this Masters research which explores the constriction of female power amongst the Lozi. The fieldwork conducted in 2016 revealed that the existing literature on the Lozi people negates the ongoing presence and historical representation of female power (Matakala, 2017). Considering that the role of Litunga la Mboela has near equal powers to the Litunga (the paramount leader), while multiple roles in Lozi royal kinship ideology reserved for women, the centrality of womanhood requires

further exploration. There is an apparent lack of literature which focuses on the significance of womanhood amongst the Lozi, which is largely due to the overrepresentation of Eurocentric epistemologies. Ifi Amadiume (1997:80) argues that “European writers did not seem to have had a parallel historical experience of mother-focused systems to draw from. The patriarchal paradigm was taken from the fixed point of the father. This affected their understanding of African data.” In order to shift the focus of analysis to the primacy of the role of the mother/sister in economic, social, political and religious institutions, this research is aligned with Amadiume’s and Cheikh Anta Diop’s (1989) theories of matriarchy in Africa. I attempt to de-centre colonial knowledge by bringing female power from the periphery.

This research draws on Amadiume’s (1997) matriarchal triangle structure of mother, daughter and son to reassemble the construction of female power amongst the Lozi people. Amadiume asserts that we arrive at the matriarchal triangle structure “if kinship is determined through the one constant- the mother – and if we remove the concept of movement and ownership and focus on the African concept of collectivism and usufruct access to land” (1997:75). This research considers Mbuyuwamwambwa, the divine ancestress of the Lozi people and the first ruler in Barotseland, as the ‘mother’ in the matriarchal triangle structure. Concerning the daughter and son, this research regards the Litunga (paramount chief, who is male) as the ‘son’ and the designated roles of female power as ‘daughter(s)’. The ideology which emerges when applying Amadiume’s conceptual framework to the Lozi royal kinship structure is captured in Chapter 6; The Ideology of the Lozi Matricentric Unit.

Amadiume (1997:75) describes these kinship terms as classifications in a grouped collective sense and not in the European individualistic sense. By focusing on this structure, this research overcomes the limitations of theories based on assumptions and the racism of unilinear evolutionism or simultaneous universal transformation. Mainga (1997:197) asserts that “one of the rules of succession requires proof of direct descent from the ancestress Mbuyu through the male line....it is significant to realise that the establishment and hence the kingship itself, provides the formal means of preserving and transmitting history within the nation.” Bearing this in mind, this research investigates the material conditions which have led to a patrilineal system coexisting with a matriarchal triangle structure. In an attempt to trace the changes in the intersection of Lozi gender constructs and the oscillating shifts of power in Barotseland, this research examines structural change from the establishment of the Lozi Kingdom to the present, illuminating an evaluation of the distinctive socio-political dynamics of different and cohesive systems which is encapsulated in Chapter 5; The Juxtaposition of Matrifocal and Patrilineal Systems.

This research continues as an empirical journey that takes into account lived experiences of Lozi people, myself included, while building on the legacy of visual resistance of His Royal Highness Lubosi Lewanika, the reigning Litunga at the time of the colonial encounter and my maternal great-grandfather. This research deploys the use of the pronominal “I” and its congruent “We” and “Us” as articulations of difference that are neither singular or binary. Stating this from the outset of the research, one may be led to understanding the “I/We/Us” as “turning the right to signify into an act of cultural translation” (Bhabha, 2004:334-335).

While the intention was to implement visual data analysis (through film and photography) as a supplement to the qualitative data analysis of textual data, time constraints did not allow for this. Attride-Stirling's (2001) thematic network analysis has been utilised in this research and is explained further in Chapter 4.

The research offers a decolonial analysis of the Lozi people of the Western Province of Zambia. In doing so, We present a new conception of the social world and the place of gender in it, exposing the pitfalls of imposing European paradigms when it comes to positing matriarchy as a traditional social structure (Oyěwùmí, 2005:81) amongst the Lozi.

1.1 Objectives of this study

The main objective of this research project is to conduct qualitative research into the dynamic role of gender in Lozi society. By examining narratives of multiple formats, genres and locations (Rassool, 2004:12) this research interrogates positions and expressions of female power in Lozi social history so as to explore the construction of female power amongst the Lozi people.

CHAPTER 2 Gaps in the representation of the dynamic role of gender in Lozi society.

The Lozi people have been the subject of a considerable amount of literature over the past three centuries. This collection of books and printed texts summon up the politics of the Lozi locality. This literature may be divided into three major themes: colonial empirical texts; contemporary literature on Lozi social history and contemporary literature on Lozi public culture. These thematic groups intersect to reveal a gap in the representation of the dynamic role of gender in Lozi society.

Colonial Empirical texts and 're-thinking' Lozi social history

Much of the literature on the Lozi published in the early 20th century may be characterised as an empirical gaze from North to South. Colonial empirical texts to be taken into consideration while exploring the construction of female power amongst the Lozi, include Caplan's (1970) *The Elites of Barotseland 1878-1969: A Political History of Zambia's Western Province*, in which he describes the interactions between western imperialism and the political elites of Barotseland. Caplan's text is useful in underpinning the international significance of Barotseland in post-colonial Zambia. He states that "...in the 1890's, [Barotseland's] pacification was among the overriding aims of British South Africa Company as Rhodes pursued his expansionist policies, the integration of Barotseland into the new nation of Zambia became a key to the transformation of an artificial colonial entity into a united and stable state"

(1970:v). Thus while exploring the construction of female power amongst the Lozi, gender roles pertaining to the political evolution and state formation of Barotseland were critically evaluated. This was achieved by interrogating the socio-political roles of Litunga la Mboela and Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana and how the people who occupied the positions at the time of what Caplan (1970:38-74) terms the “scramble for protection” (indirect rule and the existence of Barotseland as a British protectorate) up to and including Zambian independence and the integration of Barotseland into the postcolonial state of Zambia, influenced the political evolution of the Lozi.

This research filled the gaps of Caplan’s historical writing of Barotseland by applying a gendered lens to the political evolution of Barotseland, putting forth the argument that the females surrounding Lewanika had political influence. In particular, this research focused on Lewanika’s sister who was the reigning Litunga la Mboela at the time (1886-1916). She was significantly involved in political decision-making, thus uncovering the internal opposition to which Caplan refers. Caplan’s article *Barotseland's Scramble for Protection* (1969) was useful to this research in locating the role of Lozi females during this imperative moment of socio-political change by problematising the extent and influence of ‘white protection’ as a consequence of the Lochner Concession signed in 1890 between Lewanika and agents of the British South Africa Company. In addition, Caplan’s article *Barotseland: the secessionist challenge to Zambia* (1968) attempts to elucidate the motives of the Lozi ruling class in demanding secession, the historical background of the situation and the methods by which successive colonial and independent governments have met this challenge.

Another seminal text about the Lozi is *The Judicial Process Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia* (1973). The book was written while Max Gluckman was under the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute conducting anthropological research in Barotseland. He analyses the judicial processes in Barotseland and their influence in social life and Lozi culture. In Gluckman's text *Kinship and Marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal* (1987) he discusses the relation of bride-price size, presence or lack of agnatic lineage groups, inheritance rules, general stability of marriage, and the nuclear household among the Lozi and the Zulu. This research explored the gender roles attached to judicial processes amongst the Lozi, and the construction of gender within kinship and marriage, in order to determine the role and dynamic of gender in Lozi sociocultural institutions. Gluckman's research impacts this exploration of female power amongst the Lozi when considering the relationship between Eurocentric gendered meanings and Lozi constructs of gender in the judicial system.

Another text to be considered in colonial empirical literature is *On the Threshold of Central Africa* (1897) by Francois Coillard. The book is a record of Coillard's journeys and his work in establishing the Paris evangelical mission in Barotseland, and discloses his propagation of western gender and religious ideologies. My Honours research (Matakala, 2017) revealed how Coillard's invention of gender difference in Lozi society was a slow, spasmodic and heterogeneous process. Coillard's mission to spread evangelism in Buluzi, documented in letters which were later collected and translated into the book by his niece Catherine Winkworth Mackintosh, influenced many authors on the Lozi, including Gervas Clay.

Gervas Clay was the Resident Commissioner of Barotseland Protectorate and Director of the Rhodes Livingstone Museum, Zambia. He authored the biography, *Lewanika: A Biography - Your Friend Lewanika. Litunga of Barotseland 1842–1916* (1968) which covers the history of Buluzi from the mid-nineteenth century to the death of Lewanika in 1916. Clay's biography sources are limited to written records, primarily missionary and early administrative records and accounts that engender the empirical European gaze from North to South. Clay's biography of Lewanika may be criticised in terms of seeing Christianity versus paganism (1968:100). Because Clay's biography does not rely on oral narratives by Lozi people or explanations from the perspective of the Lozi royal kinship, he is limited to portraying Lewanika's reforms in the Lozi socio-political structure to the moral influence of Christianity (1968:91-92). Furthermore, Clay does little to analyse the conditions and repercussions of British colonial rule and agreements signed with the British South Africa Company.

Clay makes reference to Lozi opposition groups during this time that Lewanika made concessions with the British. These concessions were aided by Adolfo Jalla and François Coillard who provided necessary documentation to define the border between Angola and Northern Rhodesia. Clay does not clarify who these Lozi opposition groups were, as such my research investigated the stance of Lozi women reigning in the Lozi royal kingship at this time, and other Lozi women involved in this critical moment of the Lozi-Euro encounter. As Mainga (1997:223) reminds us, "the missionaries' close association with the capital of Barotseland at Lealui was bound to affect the nature of their records. Their accounts were concerned mainly with events at the capital and with the ruling groups in the country." By returning the gaze to European perspectives on the

Lozi, this research provides a wholesome perspective on grasping not simply Lozi women in power in the midst of the colonial gaze, but the people of Bulozhi who currently reside there and are still embedded in the colonial matrix of power.

An African Postcolony and the complex locality of Lozi politics.

The late 20th century literature on the Lozi may be characterised as situating Barotseland within an African Postcolony¹ that reflects the complex locality of Lozi politics. In *Nationality and Nationalism: The Case of Barotseland*, Ranger (1968) analyses the complex and productive expressions of Lozi nationality and how they have interacted with Zambian national politics. In his study which takes into account fieldwork data up to the year 1962, Ranger (1968:245) argues that Lozi politics have sometimes played the role of the “fore-runner of articulate opposition politics; sometimes providing an élite leadership for the new national politics; sometimes standing in direct opposition to the new nationalism; sometimes combining with it for traditional purposes.” These insights impact the structural nature of roles in the Lozi royal kinship and the ongoing changes through precolonial, colonial and postcolonial times. In the article *A Comparison of African Kingdoms*, Vansina (1962:331) classifies the Lozi as a “segmentary kingdom” on the basis of a structure of “pyramid of like units, which oppose each other only when they are on the same level.” Vansina (1962:333) also classifies the Lozi as an “incorporative kingdom” based on the decreasing power from the centre to the periphery through the domination over

¹ The notion of the African Postcolony in this research refers to the multitude of unfolding narratives in modern African politics and how “Lozi Progressives” (Ranger, 1968:232) shaped and are shaping the the Lozi nationality and nationalism.

the outer provinces by hereditary chiefs controlled by overseers from the Litunga. This principle of political succession in turn produces centres of cultural and ideological diffusion.

In his focus on *Culture and Customs of Zambia*, Taylor (2006:11) finds that “historians note frequent clashes between the African peoples who settled in Zambia... The Lozi in the west live unfettered, however, for much of the time after their settlement in western Zambia’s Zambezi floodplain around 1700. Though they dominated many other groups in that area, their conflict with outsiders was limited until 1800, by which time they had developed a highly organized society and kingdom.” Taylor’s book details the interaction of Zambia's diverse ethno-linguistic groups and the ways in which tradition and modernity coincide in contemporary Zambia. Through his examination of topics relevant to this research including religion, gender roles and family, Taylor’s book was useful in locating Lozi culture in the broader context of the postcolonial state of Zambia.

The article *Corporate Kingship: The Lozi of Zambia and the Ultimately Meaningful and Real* by Ocaya (1993) provides a history of the Lozi kingdom and the basic realities of the Lozi life. Ocaya (1993:177) points out that “the Lozi calendar is largely defined by the state of the flood. The two national events of the year are the movements of the king between his capitals in the Plain and on the margin of the higher regions outside the Plain.” Ocaya (1993:173) also sheds some light on the origin of the name Lozi. According to tradition, the people of the Plain known as Bulози, stretching from the confluence of the river Lungvungu and Kabombo with the Zambezi in the north and from the confluence of the river Lui with the Zambezi in the south, were known as Aluyi

or Aluyana. A group known as *Makololo* advanced from the south, conquering the Aluyi and giving them the name Rotse. Upon liberating themselves from the Kololo, the Aluyi retained their language, Kololo, and Rotse became Lozi.

Also contributing to geo-historic implications of Barotseland in origin and nature of state authority in the African Postcolony is Zeller (2010) in the article *Neither Arbitrary nor Artificial: Chiefs and the Making of the Namibia-Zambia Borderland*. Zeller (2010) contextualises Lozi leadership in the late 19th and early 20th century, including Lewanika's project of state formation. Zeller (2010:2). cites the the pivotal agreements as the British South Africa Company "Lochner Concession of 1890" and the Anglo-German "Heligoland-Zanzibar Agreement" which partitioned the Lozi kingdom in 1890 thus creating the Caprivi panhandle in northeast Namibia. This article is relevant to this research as it maps the geographies of Lozi heritage which Zeller (2010) indicates serves as an integrative factor through kinship relations in everyday life of the the Namibia-Zambia borderland.

Flint (2006) expands on the geographic and kinship relationship of Lozi people and the postcolonies of Zambia and Namibia in his article *State-Building in Central Southern Africa: Citizenship and Subjectivity in Barotseland and Caprivi*. In it he provides principal details of early history, the *Makololo* Interregnum, restoration and the Second Lozi Kingdom, the colonization of Caprivi and diverging nationalisms.

The book *The Zambesian Past: Studies in Central African History* (1966) contains two sources of interest to this research. The chapter *The Colonization of Barotseland in the 17th Century* by Muuka (1966) which provides vital insights

into the origin of the Lozi, the Luba-Lunda diaspora theory and the significance of the ancestresses Mwambwa and her daughter Mbuyu. Another chapter of relevance to this research is *The Origin of the Lozi: Some Oral Traditions*, by Mainga (1966).

In an attempt to document Lozi narratives of origin, this research also considered Mutumba Mainga (1997), a Lozi woman and author of a seminal text titled *Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings: Political Evolution and State Formation in Pre-colonial Zambia*. Mainga (1997:106) reveals that the mid-nineteenth century is crucial in understanding how the Lozi Kingdom evolved in terms of state structure later in the nineteenth century. A close interrogation of the extent of Lozi influence reveals Western modernisation as being built upon the colonisation of space, place and time. Mainga (1997:159) finds that the first detailed written description of the boundaries of Barotseland was crafted by the missionary, Francois Coillard, in June 1890, when Lewanika was signing a treaty with Frank Lochner a representative of the British South Africa Company (BSAC). These artificial borders were drawn up by Coillard as described to him by Lewanika and the Indunas². Following in Mainga's footsteps, this research attempted to infer from what evidence exists the broad outlines of development within the Lozi state before the Kololo invasion, a temporal moment between 1840 and 1864 in which the Lozi were conquered by a group of Sotho people led by Sibitwane. This research expands on Lozi social history by putting Mainga's book in conjunction with the article *Reciprocity and Interdependence: The Rise*

² An Induna is a title given to a head representative in the Lozi Makolo institution. From the founding of the Lozi state, Mainga (1997:33-34) states that each of Mbuyuwamwambwa's children were designated a territorial unit (Likolo). The tradition continues with the position of the Induna who represents the people of their Likolo within the royal capital. These fundamental units of administration and justice developed in response to the needs of the Bulozi Plain.

and Fall of the Kololo Empire in Southern Africa in the Nineteenth Century by Kayongo (1988) discusses the historiography of Buluzi on issues such as slavery, the autocratic or democratic nature of the Lozi state, and the looseness or tightness of central control. This research takes Mainga and Kayongo's findings further by exploring the construction of female power during this critical moment in Lozi social history. As Mainga (1997:81) points out, the Lozi had a council of women known as *Anatambumu* who participated directly in government, while the *Makololo* negated the involvement of women in government.

Mainga's writing of pre-colonial Lozi history offers an analysis of the Lozi royal kingship and the ways in which it borrowed from neighbouring groups. She also shows how the Lozi royal kingship was shaped by varying socio-political environments and the ambitions of individual kings (Mainga, 1997:30). However, Mainga does not focus much writing on the pre-colonial history that is situated in Diop's (1962:25) conception of the Southern cradle, one which finds its origins in matriarchy. Thus my research makes conceptual links between Diop's and Mainga's writings of the origin of African civilizations. Thus this research begins to "clarify one of the obscure points in the history of antiquity" (Diop, *ibid*).

Mainga has also written on *A History of Lozi Religion to the end of the Nineteenth Century*. Mainga (1976:99) argues that "...the co-existence of multiple formats of religion and religious practice could therefore have resulted from the coming together of several different groups." Taking these migratory patterns into consideration while analysing the representation of female power within Lozi spirituality and political governance, with particular focus on the divine

ancestress Mbuyuwamwambwa, I broaden the identification of the forces that influenced Lozi spirituality. It is significant to focus on Mbuyuwamwambwa because “the Lozi hold that all members of the royal family have divine ancestry through their descent from Mbuyu, daughter of God” (Mainga, 1997:28).

Reconsidering Lozi Heritage and Public Culture

The third theme of this research is contemporary literature on Lozi heritage and public culture. As outlined in McGregor and Schumaker’s (2006:649) research on *Heritage in Southern Africa: Imagining and Marketing Public Culture and History*, Lozi heritage and public culture is discussed “as a mode of cultural production, popular interest and state discourse.” According to Milbourne (2013) by the dawn of the 20th century, Lubosi Lewanika “...emerged as the internationally recognized king of an African kingdom. To accomplish this, Lubosi Lewanika complemented his domestic and international economic and political initiatives with an active visual campaign that included photographic portraits, spectacular pageants and the creation of an art producing workshop at his court.” My research intentionally builds on the legacy to which Milbourne (2013) refers to as “his workshop and his gift for promotion through photography pageantry, sculptural production and political diplomacy.”

A vital element of Lozi public culture is *Kuomboka*. The movement itself has been taking place since time immemorial. “It is not just a culturally determined ceremony. It is a naturally, socially and economically necessitated periodic evacuation from rising waters of the floodplain” (Mbikusita-Lewanika, 2017). *Kuomboka* translates into English as ‘to get out of the water.’ The book *King Lewanika (2017)* edited by Akashambatwa Mbikusita-Lewanika, foregrounds

the origins of *Kuomboka*. *King Lewanika* aims to resolve the lack of representation in the contemporary literary canon on the Southern African liberation struggle. The book contains information on *Kuomboka*, it also traces the significance of Lubosi Lewanika. In *Contradictions and Challenges in Representing the Past: The Kuomboka Festival of Western Zambia*, Flint (2006) discusses the struggle to extract contemporary value out of the Kuomboka ceremony. Flint (2006:701) refers to three contestations: “first, over contested versions of the past; second, over the uses of heritage; and finally over ownership of heritage and the implications of this ownership for the distribution of the benefits of heritage development.”

While the *Kuomboka* ceremony is central to Lozi cultural production, this research is concerned with the role of women in bolstering its significance to Lozi identity over time. Prins’ (1990) article on *The Battle for Control of the Camera in Late Nineteenth Century Western Zambia* will be useful in analysing the expressions of female power in Lozi visual heritage by exploring absence and presence of women in the photographic archives. Another book relevant to this research is titled *The Hidden Hippopotamus. Reappraisal in African History; the early colonial experience in western Zambia* (Prins, 1980). This research interrogates the battle for metaphysical power between the Lozi Litunga Lewanika and a multitude of colonial emissaries including François Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Mission. Prins (1980:193-194) has critiqued the impression of power that Coillard’s photographs imprinted onto Barotseland, arguing that “the written word had mysterious power and the concrete achievements of people who possessed that power were highly visible; therefore, it was not so surprising that illiterate parents willingly provided cattle to enable their children to buy bibles. Still more powerful than the word was photographs.” It is within

this epistemology of the Lozi in which (de)coloniality, consciousness and the camera intersect. My focus on the construction of female power amongst the Lozi will fill in gaps in representations of African indigenous heritage. As McGregor and Schumaker (2006:652) state, Our “...exceptional privileges were gradually undermined, and administrative uses of ethnicity tended to flatten old hierarchies and map out discrete and contiguous ethnic territories.”

The wealth of knowledge that exists on the Lozi provides a strong foundation upon which to investigate a re-inscribe Lozi women within public historical production (Rassool, 2004:13). In an attempt to return the gaze, this research is a practice of re-thinking and unravelling dominant worldviews of the Lozi.

CHAPTER 3 Conceptualisations of Lozi Knowledge and Theoretical Framings of Matriarchy.

This research is relevant given what has already been written concerning the domains of patriarchy and matriarchy. Cheikh Anta Diop has written widely on the origins of the human race. One of his most significant works has been a criticism of the classical theory of a universal matriarchy. Diop's criticism puts forth the argument that from the beginning, "humanity has been divided into two geographically distinct 'cradles' one of which was favourable to the flourishing of matriarchy and the other to that of patriarchy" (1989:21). This research applied Diop's criticism by evaluating the supposition that matriarchy originated in the South and patriarchy in the North, by writing a historical account of what will be henceforth be referred to as the Lozi-Euro encounter.

The ensemble of facts to which Diop (1989:22) refers to in his hypotheses are; the status of women, modes of inheritance, dowries and the nature of consanguinity. As such, this research uncovered the residues of the Lozi-Euro encounter by formulating interview questions around such facts that aided in distinguishing the 'double-cradle hypothesis.'

This research implemented the "Matriarchal Triangle" (Amadiume, 1997:75) as a conceptual entry point into understanding power, kinship and gender. I questioned the material conditions which determine the structure of Lozi kinship and its patterns of change. In *Re-Inventing Africa: Matriarchy, Religion and Culture*, Amadiume (1997:77) asserts that "the Matricentric unit is an autonomous production unit; it is an ideological unit." Applying Amadiume's

theorisation of matriarchy to the contemporary social formation of the Lozi people entailed explaining the beginning of social regulations based on sexual relations. My Honours research (Matakala, 2017) has revealed that the first leader in Barotseland was Mbuyuwamwambwa who originated from the Luba-Lunda region in Congo and is regarded as the divine female ancestress. Her son Mboo was the second leader. Furthermore, all subsequent leaders (Litungas) are descended from Mbuyuwamwambwa through the male line. These dynamic social processes in which gender and power intersect, serve to challenge the assumption that “the Matricentric unit is not itself already a cultural construct – that is, that the mother or the women cannot make culture and rules” (Amadiume, 2005:77). Applying Amadiume’s Matriarchal Triangle in this study has examined Mbuyuwamwambwa as the mother and her children as the members of a unit who carried on a Matricentric ideological unit which co-exists with the patriarchal paradigm.

This research locates itself on the borders of decolonial theory and African feminist theories. An author who has been contributing to the borders of these disciplines is Jamaican writer Sylvia Wynter. In her seminal text, *Unsettling the colonality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom; towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation- An Argument* (2003) concepts of decoloniality and a description of the Human impacts the approach of this research. Following Wynter’s train of thought, this research unsettles the colonality of power by unsettling the overrepresentation of Man (Wynter, 2003:265) in the geo-historical location of the Western Province of Zambia. In the book *On Being Human as Praxis*, Wynter (2015:34) demands that we question the mechanisms and strategies by which we prescribe our own roles as a route to the representations of our origin.

My research has conceptualised the geo-politics of knowledge as the domains of matriarchy and patriarchy which collide on the plains of Barotseland. As a direct descendant of the Lozi royal family, I am writing a cultural translation of the Lozi people which Bhabha (2004:327) would regard as “desacralizing the transparent assumptions of cultural supremacy, and in that very act, demands a contextual specificity, a historical differentiation within minority positions.” The concept of cultural translation is pertinent to this research in that it I am writing a history of Lozi cultural difference that envisages the production of difference as the political and social definition of the historical present. By producing knowledge within this epistemic framework alongside Amadiume’s conceptual framework, the matriarchal triangle and the patriarchal paradigm reveal the articulations of difference- race, history, gender- which are never singular or binary (Bhabha, 2004:335).

One of the points of departure of this research springs from the Caribbean, as We adopt a Créolité mentality which seeks to resuscitate consciousness by means of producing artistic knowledge. This research draws on a theory proposed by Jean Bernabe, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Raphael Confiant in their book *In Praise of Creoleness* (1993). The theory of ‘Interior Vision’ is an approach to self-knowledge whereby we take away our nature from the peripheral edge so as to place it again at the centre of ourselves. In doing so, Interior Vision is a result of self-acceptance which emerges from the projection of Lozi ways of being and considers each part of our reality as an event in order to break the way it is traditionally viewed (Bernabe, Chamoiseau, Confiant, 1993:85-86). Moreover, the concept of ‘Interior Vision’ being implemented in this research will entail what Bernabe, Chamoiseau and Confiant proclaim as “Updating True

Memory.” That goes to say that this research will be a writing of Our chronicle that is “behind the dates, behind known facts: *We are words behind writing*” (Bernabe, Chamoiseau, Confiant, 1993:99). My research used this theory to update the true memory of the Lozi consciousness by drawing on interviews conducted in July 2016 for my Honours research (Matakala, 2017) and data from interviews conducted for this Masters research in 2018.

CHAPTER 4 Methodology

The approach used in this research to explore the topic of the construction of female power amongst the Lozi was qualitative and decolonial in nature. The data required to answer the questions was derived from semi-structured interviews that were filmed and the fieldwork journey was documented in photographs. While the intention at the beginning of this research was to use the visual data as a supplement to the textual data derived from the interview transcripts, limitations of time did not allow for this. That being said ethical considerations for filming and photographing interview participants were made and are detailed in this chapter. This chapter also details the philosophical assumptions of Bhabha (2004), Wiredu (2004) Hountondji (2009) and outlines the research design and data analysis method used in this research, highlighting the methodological suitability.

Positionality

This research began in 2016 with my Honours research focusing on the two females in power in the Lozi royal kingship ideology, Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana and Litunga la Mboela. Situating this research on the border of cultural studies, with a focus on the Lozi transcultural space, this research takes

a queue from Homi Bhabha's (2004) theory of cultural translation. This is an epistemological stance in which the postcolonial subject through the use of "I" as pronominal "writes a history of cultural difference that envisages the production of difference as the political and social definition of the historical present" (Bhabha, 2004:335).

Bhabha's concept of cultural translation through the "I/We/Us" links to the writing of history concerning the Lozi matriarchal origins in the structure of kingship, as the language choice of "I/We/Us" foregrounds my positionality. As such my positionality is that of a Lozi woman who was born and raised elsewhere than the geo-historical location of this research- the Western Province of Zambia.

At the same time, I bear a matrilineal consanguine with His Royal Highness King Lubosi Lewanika, Litunga of Barotseland from 1878-1884 and 1886-1916, whom this research is written for, about and with.

My subject position as African woman locates this research as laying foundations of "ethno-philosophy" (Hountondji, 2009:9), in which I face my own intellectual responsibility. My subject position proves valuable towards what Hountondji proposes as the final goal of African Studies:

"An autonomous, self-reliant process of knowledge production and capitalisation that enables us to answer our own questions and meet both the intellectual and the material needs of African societies. The first step in this direction would probably be to formulate original "problematics," original sets of problems that are grounded in a solid appropriation of the

international intellectual legacy and deeply rooted in the African experience” (Hountondji, 2009:9)

Research Design

This research began in 2016 with my Honours research into Lozi femininities, with a focus on the two females in power in the Lozi royal kingship ideology, Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana and Litunga la Mboela. The findings of my Honours research have informed the methodology used in this Masters research.

According to Amadiume (2017:135) who has also conducted research in her own traditional society, the Nnobi of Igboland, a concern with gender provides both the analytical and the theoretical tools to focus on specific periods of precolonial, colonial and postcolonial. Applying Amadiume’s approach in this research entails compounding the question of change to compare the dynamic effects of gender among these periods in Buluzi. This research draws on Amadiume’s (2017:134) ground-up approach which disseminates indigenous knowledge systems and foregrounds indigenous peoples as a means of arguing for an African social history method. This research draws on Amadiume’s aspect of a grassroots approach to explore the construction of female power amongst the Lozi, which informs the assertion that “women in traditional societies have strong relevance and negotiating powers that they can use to deal with sexism and antiquated oppressive gender practices in their societies” (2017:135).

Sampling

Chain-referral sampling is a part of this research as this “method yields a study sample through referrals made among people who share or know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest” (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981:141). This sampling method is useful because it allows for the sampling of what Biernacki & Waldorf (1981:141) term as “natural interactional units”. Furthermore, the politics of insider/outsider knowledge have been negotiated in this research. My positionality as a Lozi woman born and raised outside of my region of origin, who is descended from the royal family and doing research into the same region grants me access through my subject position. What I have gained access to is the deeper knowledge which the insiders who meet the sampling criteria embody. Putting it metaphorically, the Key Informants in this research who embody knowledge/exist as bodies of knowledge are like ‘living libraries’. I focused on the knower rather than the known so as to re-shelve knowledge of the Lozi people. This epistemic consideration serves to “call into question the modern/colonial foundation of the control of knowledge” (Mignolo, 2009:4). This approach ensures that knowledge which the Key Informants (insiders) possesses and my own knowledge (as both insider and outsider) is draw on.

The sampling criteria for research participants is:

- 1) Lozi people born and raised in the Western Province of Zambia
- 2) Members of the Lozi royal family
- 3) Non-members of the royal family;
- 4) generational gap experiences that will fill in the time periods of pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial.

I gained access to the research participants in the royal family through my mother, Edith Mwanangombe Mwanawina Matakala, who accompanied me on the fieldwork and is a member of the Lozi royal family. She took on the role of interpreter. She was interviewed based on her experience during the fieldwork journey so as to assist in understanding how her subject positions intertwined with that of research participants. This method of generating knowledge is an attempt at cultural translation, as outlined by Bhabha (2004:329) by dealing with “community matters” in this research. It is necessary to make an account of the racial, gendered minority position, as two Lozi women cultivating “an insurgent ‘intersubjectivity’ that is interdisciplinary” (Bhabha, 2004:329).

Nine people were sampled for this research. One of the Key Informants engaged with in 2016 for my Honours research (Matakala, 2017) was revisited. The new Key Informants are three members of the royal family who are also academic scholars, two non-members of the royal family, a Barotseland cultural tour guide, a former *Ngambela* (Prime Minister of Barotseland), and a former Induna.

By working through a process of “within-method triangulation” (Flick, 2004:179) this research explored the construction of Lozi female power by uniting the methodological approaches of the semi-structured interviews and the thematic network analysis (Flick, 2004:180). Fieldwork interviews were formulated around Caplan’s (1970:38-39) claims that Lewanika, the Litunga at the time of the so-called scramble for protection, was concerned with the wider national interests of the Lozi, and that he encountered internal opposition. Interview questions sought out the evolution of Lozi womanhood in the precolonial,

colonial and postcolonial periods; the role of gender in the Lozi royal kinship ideology; and the role and dynamic of gender in Lozi sociocultural institutions.

Data Collection Instruments

The data collection instruments used to gather oral narratives on the subject of Lozi female power in this research include semi-structured interviews that were audio recorded. Initially, my intention was to also film the interviews because “the cinematic, televisual and photographic apparatuses produce iconic signs which reproduce, at indexical and symbolical levels, the ‘ideology of the visible’” (Tomaselli, 2001:173) which I had thought would be an important supplement to analysing the ideology of the textual data produced by the interviews. Despite the absence of visual data, the data generated in this research triangulated 20th century literature on the Lozi; contemporary literature on Lozi heritage and public culture; colonial empirical data; and the embodied knowledge of Lozi people. The idea is to highlight “the importance of a discourse on gender and radical theoretical paradigms that challenge traditional approach, as well as their implications in a broader interdisciplinary framework” (Amadiume, 2017:136).

Furthermore, this research sought to create a non-hierarchical relationship between researcher and research. This research takes this approach because “the hierarchical situation – the position of the researcher as expert knower – invalidates any data that comes out of the research process” (Oakley, 1998:708-711). Seeing as this research is founded on fundamental orality and an introspective necessity to re-write my own social history, I cannot approach my research as if I am an expert in a culture I have been previously dislocated from. I expounded on this point of being born and raised outside of the Western

Province of Zambia in the preceding subheading, Positionality. In actuality, it is imperative that I humble myself before my Key Informants, who are family members/kinfolk, by maintaining my moral obligation and intellectual priority to approach this research as part of a wider project; “knowing oneself in order to transform” (Hountondji, 2009:9). In examining the construction of female power amongst the Lozi, I bear in mind my social location and how I come to experience and describe it. While enacting cultural translation and qualitative data analysis, I recognise that We have particular histories and occupy different social positions. This means that myself as a researcher and the Key Informants do not see the world from one another’s standpoint – although We may understand each other across difference through dialogue and Our shared Lozi worldsense. Thus this research has attempted in its dialectic data analysis to fill the void between researched and researcher towards a comprehensive investigation of the Lozi. Aligned with Amadiume’s experience of fieldwork within her own tradiotnal society, I have some memory, some local knowledge, some misinformation of Lozi culture; all this culminates in some gaps to be filled while “unlearning in the process of relevant knowledge constriction” (Amadiume, 2017:132).

Data Transcription and Translation

As the primary researcher, I conducted the interviews and transcribed and translated the audio recordings of interviews conducted in English. In the case of Key Informants answering questions in Silozi, transcriptions and translations were completed by Professor Patrick Walusiku Matakala, my father, who bears a wealth of embodied knowledge of the Lozi. He was born and raised in Nangweshi in Senanga District, western province of Zambia, and has over two decades of experience in academia.

The limits of translation in this research emerged when interviews conducted in Silozi were translated into English. Wiredu emphasizes the difficulties of “inter-cultural translation” (2004:12) and he emphasizes that “in truth the ability to perceive the untranslatability of an expression from one language into another is a mark of linguistic understanding more profound than the ability to do routine translation” (Wiredu, 1995:56). Bearing Wiredu’s stance as a radical African philosopher in mind, in the instances of quotes used in the data analysis which have undergone “inter-cultural translation” are limited in the conversational style of how they were spoken by the Key Informants in this research. That being said, Professor Patrick Walusiku Matakala is a native Silozi speaker, thus his routine translation in this research does arguably entail a deep understanding of expressions that have been enunciated by Key Informants.

Confidentiality and Ethical Considerations

This research dealt with ethical issues arising in the process of data collection with the use of an informed consent form (see Appendix 3). “Informed consent first implies that potential participants need to be given sufficient information about the project and what will be required of them in advance” (Hesse-Biber, 2006:91).

With regards to confidentiality, one out the 9 Key Informants opted for their name not to be used in the final research paper. This Key Informant is referred to as “Key Informant One”. Otherwise, each Key Informant has opted to have their name used in the final research paper.

A consent form (see Appendix 3) includes consent for photograph, video and audio recording. It was translated from English into Silozi and both forms were presented to each participant. Each participant was asked to sign the form after we read through it together and I explained to them its purpose and necessity for the institutional requirements for my Masters research. Both the forms in English and the forms in Lozi have been signed by each participant so as to give equal weight to each language. It has been argued that in qualitative research, “issues may arise principally from tensions within interpersonal relationships between researchers and research participants” (Hesse-Biber, 2006:92). Bearing in mind that the research participants may be familial relations, this research involves cultural translation and therefore my reflexivity as a researcher entailed taking stock of my actions and my role as a Lozi, daughter, sister and educated independent woman translating my own culture and institutionalising the embodied knowledge of Lozi culture in my research (Amadiume, 2017:133). Because the interviews have been audio recorded, it is crucial to make these ethical considerations. Mauthner (2012:164) asserts that seeking informed consent for digital data sharing constitutes a different moral context between researched and research participants as it constitutes moral and ontological possibilities of the participants’ embodied knowledge.

As a researcher, I was self-reflexive of my actions before and during the interview process, thus I systematically interrogated the process of consent which cannot be one-directional from English to Lozi. Rather the research process must, from the outset, be forthcoming in the first language of the interview participants. Interview participants were encouraged to answer the questions in their first language of Silozi. Concerning confidentiality, research

participants have been given the option of anonymity as clearly stated in the consent form.

Concerning the ethics of cross-cultural translation, this research took the following into account when positioning the interview questions in both English and Lozi;

“Language is an important part of conceptualization, incorporating values and beliefs, not just a tool or technical label for conveying concepts. It carries accumulated and particular cultural, social, and political meanings that cannot simply be read off through the process of translation, and organizes and prepares the experience of its speakers” (Temple and Edwards, 2002:5)

As such, the interview questions which I have written in English were translated into Silozi by my Dad, Professor Patrick Walusiku Matakala, whose positionality as a Lozi person born and raised in Western Province, Zambia, grants him with the linguistic experience of embodied knowledge of Lozi culture. This biological, social and cultural inheritance of the translator, along with his experience in academia, allows for this research to be ethically sound when it comes to the translation of Lozi concepts and values.

A Thematic Network Approach to Data Analysis

Attride-Stirling's (2001) Thematic Network analysis was used to analyse data from interviews so as to reveal geo-historical and bio-graphical configurations

(Mignolo, 2009:162-164) that will assist in understanding the construction of female power amongst the Lozi.

This form of data analysis is relevant to this research as it provides a technique for breaking up the text as articulated by the Key Informants. In doing so, this research uncovered the Basic Themes, the Organising Themes and the Global Themes of female power amongst the Lozi people. The data analysis method deployed Amadiume's (1997) conceptualisation of the Matricentric Unit as a guiding principle to explore the intersection of power, kinship and lineage in the Lozi royal kinship structure.

Step 1:

This step in the data analysis entailed coding the transcripts of the nine interviews conducted 93 codes (see Appendix 2 for full list of codes) were derived on the basis of

- a) specific theoretical interests regarding the construction of female power amongst the Lozi, and
- b) recurrent issues in the discussions (Attride-Stirling, 2001:390-391). regarding gender within lineage and socio- political ideologies.

While going through the textual data of the transcripts, these two foci were combined and the data colour coded in order to represent each Key Informant.

Step 2:

This step involved abstracting themes from coded text segments allowing for a reframing of the reading of the text, enabling the identification of underlying patterns and structures. The themes were then refined into themes that were

specific enough to be discrete and broad enough to encapsulate a set of ideas contained in numerous text segments, so that the text passages could be re-presented succinctly (Attride-Stirling, 2001:392).

Step 3:

This step involved constructing the Thematic Networks.

a) The themes were arranged into coherent grouping on the basis of content and theoretical interests (Attride-Stirling, 2001:392) derived from Amadiume's (1997) conceptualisation of the Matriarchal Tripartite structure in her book *Re-Inventing Africa: Matriarchy, Religion and Culture*.

Amadiume (1997:75) argues that theories of kinship in an African context should "focus on the African concept of collectivism and usufruct access to land" which leads to the framing of "the matriarchal triangle consisting of mother, daughter and son. These kinship terms should be understood as classifications in a grouped collective sense and not in the European individualistic sense." Moreover, Amadiume contends that "by focusing on this structure and the wide-ranging possibilities of shift of power, we can at least theorise about structural change, and compare social dynamic of co-existence of different but interacting cohesive systems" (1997:76). Amadiume's stance in these quotes is where the framing of Chapter 5 "The Juxtaposition of Matrifocal and Patrilineal Systems" is drawn from.

Amadiume also asserts that "the Matricentric unit is an autonomous production unit; it is also an ideological unit" (1997:77) and that "the organisational unit for

the sociocultural construction of roles” (1997:81) in the matricentric unit also requires analysis, hence the the framing of the thematic network in Chapter 6 “The Ideology of the Lozi Matricentric Unit.” Amadiume also emphasizes the need to critically analyse “the centrally creative role of women in the production and reproduction in African societies” (1997:81), hence the framing of the Organising Themes about the organisational structure, the sociocultural construction and the sociocultural preservation of roles in the “The Ideology of the Lozi Matricentric Unit.”

b) Basic Themes were selected. In this part of Step 3, simple premises were derived from the textual data. The immediate meaning is clarified when it is read within the context of other Basic Themes. Together, they represent an Organising Theme.

(c) the Basic Themes were rearranged into Organising Themes, which are clusters of shared issues. The 93 basic themes are listed in the Appendix 2.

(d) The Global Themes unifying the Organising Themes were deduced to encompass the principal metaphors in the data as a whole.

(e) The Thematic Networks are illustrated in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 as non-hierarchical, web-like representations that represent each Global Theme.

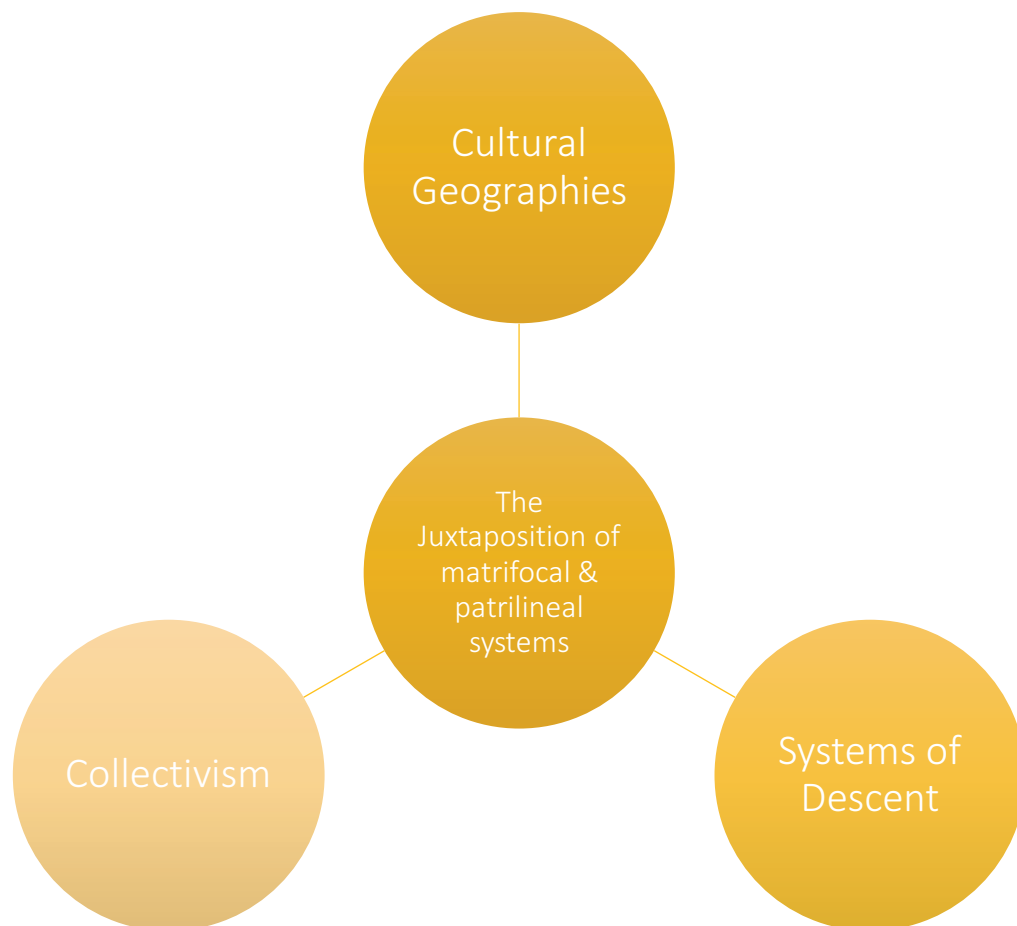
(f) Each Thematic Network has been verified and refined, ensuring that the Global Themes, Organising Themes and Basic Themes reflect the data (Attride-Stirling, 2001:393).

Step 4, Step 5 and Step 6 are laid out in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, with each chapter constituting one of the two Thematic Networks, namely; The Juxtaposition of Matrifocal and Patrilineal Systems and The Ideology of the Lozi Matricentric Unit. Taking each Thematic Network in turn, its contents were described and supported with text segments. Each Thematic Network has been explored and the underlying patterns noted. This step brings together the data and the interpretation, and elaborates the analysis for an audience (Attride-Stirling, 2001:393).

In Step 5, the descriptions in Step 4 are summarised by presenting the patterns that characterise each Thematic Network. This step follows the objective of summarising the principal themes that began to emerge in the description of each Thematic Network, and to begin to make explicit the patterns emerging in the exploration (Attride-Stirling, 2001:394).

In Step 6, the summaries of all the Thematic Networks are brought together with the relevant theory to explore the significant themes. The original research questions are returned to and the theoretical interests underpinning them. These arguments are then addressed and grounded on the patterns that emerged in the exploration of the texts. (Attride-Stirling, 2001:394). Step 6 is the epistemological prelude to the conclusion in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 5 The Juxtaposition of Matrifocal and Patrilineal Systems



The first thematic network to be explored is The Juxtaposition of Matrifocal and Patrilineal Systems. This thematic network is comprised of 3 Organising Themes and 53 Basic Themes. This network represents the informant's conceptualisation of the origin of the Lozi kingdom and the founding of Lozi kinship system which is concurrently focused on the mother figure while also being patrilineal. Amadiume (1997:86) alludes to a theory of matriarchy which

is not total rule governing a society, rather it is a structural system in juxtaposition with another system in a social structure. Matrilocality was explored in this thematic network as a cultural construct which points to the socio-political significance of womanhood and the ideological message of shared motherhood derived from womb symbolism (Amadiume, 1997:153). The principal themes emerging in this thematic network are; the Lozi myth of origin which centralises Mbuyu as the original mother; the cultural geographies which focus on the ancestresses Mbuyu and her mother Mwambwa; and the distinct moral code of collectivism in which Mbuyu and Mwambwa are ostensibly at the epicentre. These principal themes contribute to a conception of matrilocality which Amadiume categorises as a “alternative moral system that is available to social subjects” (1997:86). Moreover, matrilocality linked with biological connections between generations of motherhood (Amadiume, 1997:80) emerged as a theme in which inheritance was understood as being “double unilineal” (Forde, 2015:285). In such a case, children both inside and outside of the royal family are able to inherit from their mother’s side and the father’s side. This apparent matrilineal logic present amongst the Lozi is juxtaposed with a structural system of the patrilineal right to succession in the Lozi royal kinship structure that comprises of the masculine figure of Nyambe who is understood as God in the Lozi myth of origin, and the Litunga, who is the male figurehead of the Lozi royal kinship structure. The matter of inheritance being double unilineal (Forde, 2015:285) is also part of the patrilineal system at work amongst the Lozi.

The emergent cohesive systems of female leadership transitioning to male leadership at the establishment of the Luyi kingdom exemplifies the juxtaposition of matrilineal and patrilineal systems. As will be discussed, the significance of material conditions, dynamic social processes of kinship and

filiation amongst the founding family of the Lozi royal kinship, who at the time were known as the Luyi, include Mwambwa and her brother Ilutoya. Likewise, the female-designated roles of Litunga la Mbolea and Mboanjikana adjacent to the male figurehead of the Litunga in the Lozi Matricentric Unit will be discussed as a patrilineal system that is part of a matrifocal system.

Organising Theme: Systems of Descent.

This Organising Theme concerns issues of lineage, succession and inheritance within Lozi royal kinship and the social order at large. An emerging pattern in this Organising Theme was the existence of both a patrilineal and matrifocal logic which provides a milieu to understand Lozi ancestry. This network represents the Key Informant's conceptualisation of fundamental precepts and conditions around divine order and gender equity in distinct sociocultural categories. Ocaya (1993:182) puts forth that the Litunga is the living embodiment of the Lozi people, and he is surrounded by mystery because he is a direct descendant of the mysterious Nyambe (God).

The discussion about systems of descent highlighted the choice and installation of the Litunga, the origins of the Lozi royal kinship and the coexistence of female leadership through the roles of Mboanjikana and Litunga la Mboela. The question of succession revealed patterns of a patrilineal descent system which originates from a female, the divine ancestress Mbuyu. As characterised by Key Informants:

Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele:

The Litunga is chosen among princes, mostly whose father's ruled as Litunga at one point. From there they also consider their behaviour and

the character of one to see if he has the qualities of becoming a Litunga. Mostly it is patrilineal, people become Litungas from the lineage of their father's side unlike their mother's side.

Mutakela Mubiana:

Lozis believe that there is a heavenly God to whom we pray and shall receive us after we have departed earth. That is Nyambe. We would give sacrifices to please our God. Lozis also believe that there are Earthly Gods and a Heavenly God. The Earthly Gods are our parents such as Mbuyu-wa-Mwambwa, the Litunga and our real parents. But Nyambe, it is believed, is the one who has chosen these people. Because Nyambe has so many powers we also believe that those chosen by him also have powers to lead – they are our Earthly Gods because of their knowledge and care given to them by Nyambe.

Mainga (1997:28) asserts that;

“the Lozi hold that all members of the royal family have divine ancestry through their descent from Mbuyu, daughter of God. This divine ancestry endows an individual with *mali a silena* (royalty) and makes him eligible for the kingship. But all this in itself does not explain why the Lozi king – only one of the many male processors of *mali a silena* – became so dominant over all other royals”

It may be argued that the Litunga is not entirely dominant over all other royals. When the question of succession amongst the Lozi is framed within the paradigm of the Matriarchal Triangle (Amadiume, 1997) Litunga la Mbolea and Mboanjikana emerge as key roles which imbue a matrifocal logic adjacent to a

patrilineal system. A case can be made for those chosen to occupy the roles of Litunga la Mbolea and Mboanjikana also bearing what Mainga (ibid) referred to as *mali a silena* (royalty), and this divine ancestry being matrifocal due to its derivation from Mbuyu. As such, the Matriarchal Triangle situates Mbuyu as “Mother” the Litunga as “Son” and Litunga la Mbolea and Mboanjikana as “Daughters”. Key Informants’ account of the roles of Litunga la Mbolea, who is second in power, and Mboanjikana, who is third in power, during present times precolonial times and during the Lozi-Euro encounter, indicates that sisters and daughters to the Litunga are chosen in the line of succession.

Wamunyima Mubiana Mubita:

The first Mboanjikana in Libonda was Njikana, sister to Mboo and daughter of Mbuyu. After Njikana there were no chiefs appointed to Libonda but caretakers or Senior Indunas.

Mukwae Mutumbaetwa:

[the current Mboanjikana] Her mother is Monde, the same mother to late King Ilute Yeta III. They come from a village called Manduwani in Kaoma.

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

Well I think it is gender balance since we have a top king, since the head of all the rulers is a king, they decided to have a woman because when Lewanika was there, his sister was the one who was in- Matauka- she was the one who was Litunga la Mboela.

Key Informant 1:

The current Litunga la Mboela is Mulena Mukwae Mbuyu Imwiko, sister to the current Litunga Lubosi Imwiko.

Mutakela Mubiana:

The people discussed and said we need a woman who can take over Lwambi. They got Notulu. After Notulu came Matauka (sister to Lewanika). Litunga la Mboela is the most important advisor to the Litunga. In case the Litunga is absent for some time, it is Mboanjikana who acts as Litunga and not Litunga la Mboela.

The above quotes from Key Informants bring to light the Matriarchal Triangle (Amadiume, 1997:75) which situates the Litunga as “Son” and Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana as “Daughters”. It may be argued that the line of succession in this particular Matriarchal Triangle in the Lozi royal kinship, is fluid and interdependent, with “*mali a silena* (royalty)” (Mainga, 1997:28) not being fixated solely on the Son. This social formation at the peak of the Lozi royal kinship structure imbues a phenomenon of “shared motherhood” which Adésínà (2010:14) would describe as giving primacy to “uterine or womb-relations”. It may be argued that the Litunga’s paternal consanguinity is only relevant in as much as it can be traced back to the “Mother” Mbuyu.

An assessment of the domains of legitimate power in which sisters and daughters enunciate primacy across fundamental institutions in Lozi culture brought up the familial relationship between the Litunga, Litunga la Mboela and Mukwae Ngula. The discussion about the performative enactment of the roles

of the sister/daughter in the royal family produced significant instances of 'peace' and 'honesty' in the Basic Themes.

Key Informant 1:

The reason why the positions of both Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana have to be sisters to the Litunga is mostly to build peace, cooperation and avoid conflicts among the royal family members. When conflicts ensue, the Litunga finds it easier to discuss the issues with those two sisters. In terms of seniority Litunga la Mboela is regarded as the child of the Litunga who is regarded as the parent.

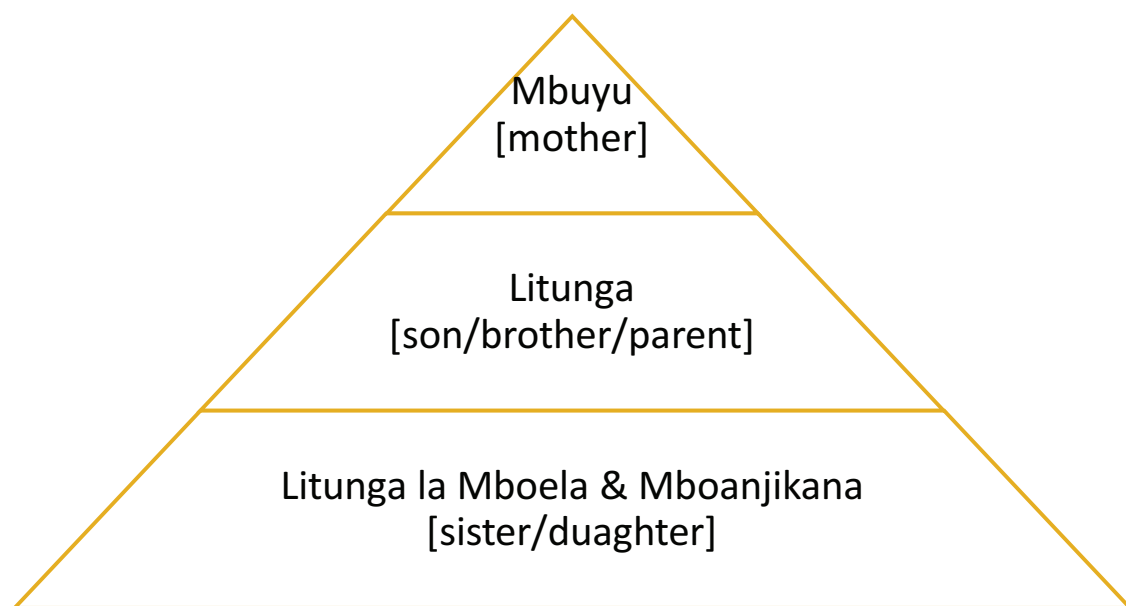
Batuke Imenda:

In order of seniority, we have Litunga la Mboela, meaning the Queen of the South, a co-ruler to the King, who is the Litunga. So when they say Litunga la Mboela, that is the queen of the south. That is the most senior member of the female members of the royal family.

Flint (2003) corroborates the geo-historic and political significance of the second and third capitals in the Lozi kingdom, being Nalolo in the south where Litunga la Mboela reigns and Libonda in the west where Mboanjikana reigns. Flint (2003:406) further emphasises that Libonda was the the first recognised capital of the Luyi, the core founding group of the Lozi, and that both these capitals have been "ruled by women since the late nineteenth century, reducing their potential to challenge authority at the capital."

The above quotes bring to light the performative enactment of the roles of "sister" and "daughter/child". When framed within the Matricentric Unit,

“sister” and “daughter” become interchangeable and inter-reliant roles which bear the titles of “Queen of the South” and “Litunga la Mboela”. The bonds of kinship between “daughter” and “sister” mutually condition the role of Litunga, also recognised as “son”, “brother” and “parent” with the imperatives of conflict resolution and peace building. It is for this reason that the Lozi Matricentric Unit is represented as Son and Daughters, with the biological motherhood tracing back to Mbuyu.



It may be argued that The Lozi Matricentric Unit that contains the roles of Litunga, Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana as illustrated in the diagram above is based on the African operative ethic of communalism. The bonds of kinship between these three roles arguably generates a normative meaning that as a sister or daughter, she has obligations to large groups of kin with whom she is in a reciprocal relationship, through which rights are due to her from a corresponding multitude of relatives including sons, brothers and parents (Wiredu, 2009:15).

Considering the role of Mukwae Ngula (Makoshi) brings up the principal of social motherhood. Mainga (2010:37) describes Mukwae Ngula's role as "Mother of the King" or "Queen Mother" which purportedly originated when "Mbuyu abdicated the kingship to her son Mboo and became the first Makoshi." This indicates that one of the functions of the Mukwae Ngula (Makoshi) is to re-inscribe the matrifocal origins of the mother, Mbuyu, in the Lozi royal kinship structure. The power of the biological motherhood of Mbuyu is ostensibly transmuted to the power of social motherhood that Mukwae Ngula performatively enacts with the Litunga, and "princesses and princes" in the Lozi Matricentric Unit. As narrated by Key Informants:

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

[Mukwae Ngula] is chosen so she can be honest with the king. Normally it is the king's sister or the king's oldest daughter because this is my own analysis now, they have an interest that the administration should deliver for the people because the best thing for the administration is to serve the people, so these people will make sure that the administration delivers they will be honest with the king if he is wrong they will be frank enough because they also have a stake. A blood relative- he is your brother, it is your father and you want him to do well so Mukwae Ngula is the chief advisor to the Litunga.

Mutakela Mubiana:

Makoshi is supposed to preserve the culture by ensuring that there are no protracted misunderstandings and conflicts among princesses and princes.

Libi Muwana and Sibale Mubita:

The Litunga has no right to argue with Mukwae Ngula because that is supposed to be his mother.

This prevailing conception of motherhood as expressed by Mukwae Ngula can be interpreted as a process of personhood which manifests itself as an obligation (Wiredu, 2004:17) to resolve conflict and maintain peace within the royal family, as a consanguine kinship affiliation, towards affective governance of Lozi society, as a larger kinship affiliation. In determining the effect of motherhood as social and political power on the Lozi royal kinship structure, it may be argued that the re-inscription of the role of Queen Mother originating from the original matriarch in Lozi culture surpasses biological motherhood and insists on ethics of kinship (Amadiume, 2002:61). What is narrated by Key Informants as a “blood relative” “chief advisor” and the motivation to “preserve the culture” can be read as metaphorical symbolisms of motherhood.

The notion of the juxtaposition of matrifocal and patrilineal systems operating amongst the Lozi is exemplified in the roles of Mukwae Ngula and Natamoyo. Gluckman (1963:1523) alludes to a sanctuary of mercy which resides in royalty and is represented by Natamoyo, the only titled position for a senior prince or *Linabi*, known as the “Giver-of-life or the Mother-of-life.” The discussion about the role of Natamoyo in relation to Mukwae Ngula highlighted Key Informant’s conceptualization of the performative enactment of motherhood being an obligation of both male and female members of the royal family, also known as *Linabi* and represented in this case as Mukwae Ngula and Natamoyo. As narrated by Key Informants:

Libi Muwana and Sibale Mubita:

For male children, they can take titles such as Natamoyo. Natamoyo refers to “life giver”. For instance, a big offender once forgiven by the Natamoyo would be forgiven by the courts as well. Natamoyo heads all the affairs of the royal family. These two [Natamoyo and Mukwae Ngula] perform similar functions.

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

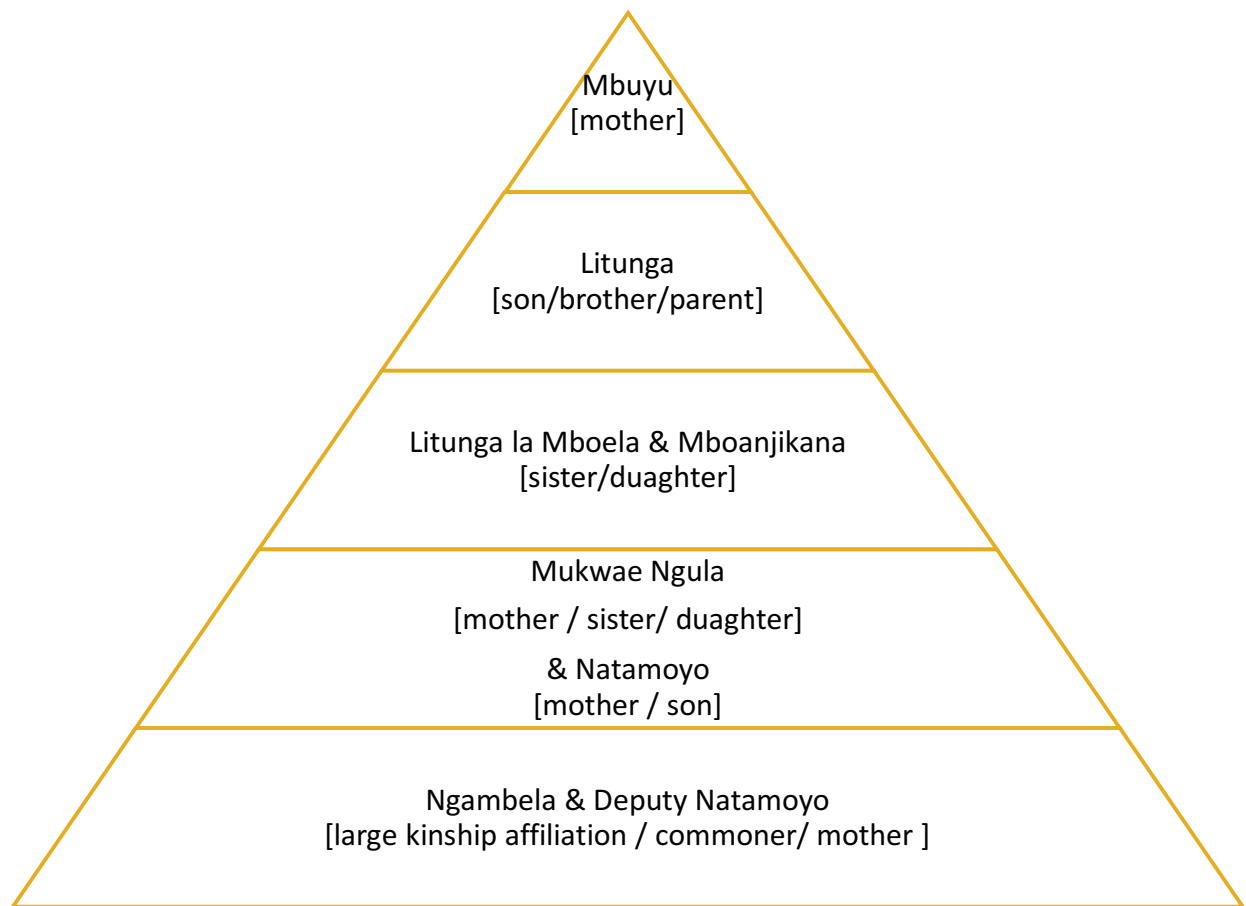
[Mukwae Ngula] is also like a minister of justice and there is a male equivalent called Natamoyo so again that's a gender... He is like a minister of justice; his house is a house of refuge. If you are in problems or someone is chasing you they didn't give you a chance to explain, if you run into his house nobody can touch you. The same with Mukwae Ngula her house is a house of refuge.

In what is apparently of sanctuary of “justice” and a “house of refuge” derived from the metaphorical symbolism of the womb, in the case of the Lozi Matricentric Unit which is anchored by Mbuyu the divine matriarch, the process of personhood for Natamoyo and Mukwae Ngula can characterised as bringing royalty into the midst of the great commoners or large kinship affiliation, as a representation of mercy (Gluckman, 1963:1523). A case can be made for the matricentric character of the Lozi being a cultural construct that generates the ideological message of “love, nurturance and protection derived from womb symbolism” (Amadiume, 1997:82). Therefore, the effect of motherhood as a social and political power may be regarded as showing the mercy that a mother would to her own children. This effectively portrays motherhood as ethically inclusive while also manifesting as a social form of “sanctuary.”

Moreover, Gluckman (1963:1523) asserts that the Lozi ascribe a deputy role to the role of Natamoyo or “Giver-of-life” whose courtyard is also a sanctuary “and who restrains the Giver-of-life and acts in his absence.” This deputy “drawn from the ranks of those who are neither quite commoners nor quite princes”

Thus it may be understood that the cultural parameters of motherhood as performatively enacted by Natamoyo thereby extend to the large kinship affiliations and allocate a deputy position to person who is once removed from the contours of the Lozi Matricentric unit i.e. one of the great commoners who the Barotse Royal Establishment serves. This strategy to balance and check the overriding power of not only the Litunga but also the “minister of justice of “mother of life” therefore indicates a theory of power and justice which is fluid and balanced across conceptions of lineage and gender.

In the milieu of a patrilineal right to succession for the most prominent role in the Lozi royal kinship, the Litunga, the favouring of the male line co-exists with the favouring of motherhood as a social and political inter-altruistic relationship. When framed within the Lozi Matricentric Unit, the title of Mukwae Ngula (Makoshi) becomes interchangeable with the inter-reliant roles of “Queen Mother” “Sister” and “Daughter”. It may be argued that the bonds of kinship between “daughter” and “sister” mutually condition the role of Litunga, also recognised as “son”, “brother” with the imperatives of honesty, conflict resolution, and respect. The diagram below illustrates the aforementioned assertions:



A case can be made for the Lozi systems of descent encompassing distinct social fields within which rights to succession and inheritance fall into distinct categories. The discussion about inheritance disclosed a system of double descent kin-group organization which entails the alternatives of patrilineal and matrilineal reckoning which are not mutually exclusive as previously assumed in African systems of kinship (Forde, 2015:285). As characterised by Key Informants:

Key Informant 1:

When the Litunga passes on, the responsibility to divide his properties is often given to his eldest son who shares the properties among the Moyo Imwambo, other Balois (if any) and his children.

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

Inheritance works by age for example if a father dies the oldest child whether female or male will take the position of that person or the parent who has died. they will take the land they will take the title. For example, me I can inherit my mother's property I can also inherit my father's property.

Libi Muwana and Sibale Mubita:

In the olden days, if a woman got married and had children, they liked her as long as she had children and taking care of the husband. But if the husband died, they were chased and sent back to their respective villages where they came from. It was very rare that you would find the widow benefiting anything – they were simply sent back. Also, the siblings to the deceased husband sometimes would take away things from the family thus prejudicing the children and their mother.

But today, it is different. Family belongings are retained by the family members (children and their mother).

Mukwae Mutumbaetwa:

Often, even before the parent dies, it has been identified and determined among the siblings or relatives the best replacement that could fully take care of the family. This could be a female or male member of the family though most commonly; it had been a male member of the family. But it could also be a female member of the family.

Keeping the above quotes in mind, it may be argued that the patrilineal and matrilineal reckoning in Lozi systems of inheritance, with preference given to

both males and females indicates that children are able to draw resources from “multiple permutations of descent that is available from either side of parenthood” (Adésinà, 2010:16).

Organising Theme: Collectivism

This Organising Theme revolves around the ubiquitous presence of ancestress figures in Lozi origin beliefs, and the congruent metaphorical symbolisms which are generated towards an inclusive social order (Adésinà, 2010:15). In order to grasp matrifocality as an organising principle in Lozi society, Amadiume endorses an analysis of the “structural significance of female ancestresses and spirits” which has the potential to uncover “an alternative matriarchal kinship based moral ideological system” (1997:85). The main narrative that emerged in this Organising Theme is the Lozi myth of origin.

Flint (2003:394) contends that at the early stage of Lozi expansionism, a single group sharing common origin and ancestry known as the Luyi, gave way to the Lozi peoples diverse origins and ancestry, coming together in community with overlapping bonds of citizenship and subjectivity. This representation of Lozi origin is best understood in Wynter’s (2015:36) tenet of “formulaic storytelling” terms in which the Luyi can be situated as “donor figures” or “entities” who have extrahumanly mandated what the structuring societal order of the Lozi genre-specific cultural present would have to be. As Flint (2003:397) expounds, the historical connection between the Luyi and the Lozi is mainly handed down through oral tradition, hence the delineation of “formulaic storytelling” amongst the Luyi/Lozi. What is narrated is that toward the end of the 16th century, the Luyi disembarked from the Lunda-Luba empire of the Congo, and

the stories surrounding the Luyi descendants are “full of magic and intrigue and are recounted in rich detail” (Flint, 2003:397). Thus It may be argued that the co-existence of myth, history and magic situates the Luyi existing in what Wynter (2015:38) depicts as an “origin-mythic past” as member subjects of an “invented range of meta-transcendental donor figures”.

Key Informants characterised the “entities” who inscribed the structuring societal order of the Lozi kingdom, the most prominent being Mwambwa and her daughter Mbuyu;

Wamunyima Mubiana Mubita:

Ushaa married Njemakati. They came from Sudan. They had five children named Mwambwa, Utoya, Siken, Mwanamuke and Akatoka. When they left Sudan they came to Congo and lived in an area (district) called Kola. That is where they found the Lunda and Bemba. The Lozi lived along a river called Luyi and that is how they later came to be known as “Aluyi”.

Mutakela Mubiana:

Mwambwa is the origin of our Lozi tradition. They came from Kola. She is the parent to all those children I mentioned. That is why she is often known as Mwambwa Njemakati. Without her, there would be no Lozi royalty today. Among her children was Mbuyu. Mbuyu is the one who handed over her queenship to her children.

According to Mainga (1997:23) in the emergence of the Luyana central kingship, the leaders were related to each other and traditionally referred to as the children of the ancestress Mbuyu. It is in the Key Informants’ and Mainga’s

interpretation of Mbuyu's children that an ideological message of womb symbolism is generated. As the "entities" who inscribed the structuring societal order of the Lozi kingdom, Mbuyu's children, up to and including their present descendants in the Barotse Royal Establishment, maintain the presence of the matriarchal ancestor Mbuyu.

One of the Key Informants in this research clarified the name and significance of the two ancestresses of the Lozi, stipulating that:

Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele:

the term itself is a two-word name. Her original name is Mbuyu. And when the Lozi people, the old Lozi people used to call her as Mbuyuwamwambwa they meant that Mbuyu, daughter to Mwambwa.

The Key Informant went on to narrate the shift from female to male leadership:

Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele:

So actually Mwambwa was the one who came, they were from the further northern part of Africa, into the soil termed as Luba-Lunda dynasty or kingdom and she also crossed the Zambezi river at a place that we call Chavuma. So, upon coming with his brothers, Mbuyu was already installed as a Queen. And she is believed to be the first Queen of the Luyi people. Despite the fact that her Mom, Mwambwa was a Queen, but she never had more powers compared to her daughter.

The Luba-Lunda diaspora theory gives rise to sociological parallels between the Lozi and the Lunda, including the earthly and spiritual authority of the royal

family and the shift from female to male rulers (Muuka, 1966:249). The earthly and spiritual authority of Mbuyu as a matriarchal figure and the first leader of the Luyi people towards the end of the 16th century situates Barotseland as what Diop (1991:119) would describe as an epicentre of retribalization during the slave trade.

Moreover, the ways in which Mwambwa and Mbuyu are referred to alludes to the prominence of female leadership, as evident in the names Mwambwa Njemakati and Mbuyuwamwambwa. Both Mwambwa and Mbuyu are referred to by Key Informants with their names attached to the mother's names rather than their father's names. It may be argued then, that the Luyi in the 16th century practiced matrilineal filiation, based on Diop's assertion of the child bearing the name of their mother's clan being a marker of matrilineal filiation (1991: 115).

Prior to the arrival of Mwambwa in Barotseland, there was a wave of 'scouts' ostensibly sent by their mother (Muuka, 1996:256). Key Informants explained the Luba-Lunda diaspora theory on the origin of the Lozi:

Key Informant 1:

I understand we originally came from the Congo in Kola that is where the first Queen Mbuyuwamwambwa came from.

Wamunyima Mubiana Mubita:

[In Kola] The other Lunda remained, then Bangabashimi left Kola due to poor agricultural potential and advanced westwards to Mwinilunga. That is where they built their palace on the banks of the Zambezi River (Lyambai) in a village called Mukandakunda Munganasimbe. The Lozi

followed them headed by Utoya, together with Sikená and Mwanamuke (plus others), leaving Mwambwa behind in Kola.

The exploration of the Lozi corpus of beliefs yields two juxtaposing conceptions of Nyambe (God). According to Ocaya (1993:178), on the one hand, Nyambe is conceived of as the creator and the original source of all things, he appears to dominate all forms of worship and the sun is the symbol of Nyambe. On the other hand, there appears to be limitations in the power and character of Nyambe; He was a king and originally dwelt on earth among human beings, including his wife Nasilele. Because co-existence with human beings was not feasible, Nyambe fled to heaven with the help of human diviners and a spider's web, burying himself in the sky, with the sun representing his grave. The discussion with Key Informants about the relationship between Nyambe, Mbuyu and the Litunga exemplified Ocaya's (1993) deductions.

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

The myth that we know, you know an oral, oral history sort of, anyway where we caught it, was that God once upon a time lived on earth, his name was Nyambe, and he had a wife, and from that union is where the human beings come from. And then they were sort of giving him a lot of problems, breaking his things taking his things, so he decided to disappear in the heavens. And I have talked to some of the old people they have an idea of where that took place but this is very interesting actually religiously and spiritually because most cultures have a similar story to the bible they come from God and at one point he left but he still loves them he still communicates with them.

Libi Muwana and Sibale Mubita:

All Lozi children when we were growing up knew that God existed and his name was Nyambe. Nyambe was regarded as the heavenly God while our Kings were regarded as our earthly Gods. In Lozi tradition they prayed to both Nyambe and Nasilele – like Jesus and Mary. They would say that Nyambe went with the sun to heaven while our kings were left with fire on earth. Both the sun and the fire are not things you get too close to, you will burn.

Mutakela Mubiana:

Lozis believe that there is a heavenly God to whom we pray and shall receive us after we have departed earth. That is Nyambe.

The Earthly Gods are our parents such as Mbuyu-wa-Mwambwa, the Litunga and our real parents. Nyambe, it is believed, is the one who has chosen these people. Because Nyambe has so many powers we also believe that those chosen by him also have powers to lead – they are our Earthly Gods because of their knowledge and care given to them by Nyambe.

Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele:

The relationship between Mbuyu, Nyambe and the Litunga, what I can say is that, all those people who have got access to become Litungas must have originated from the lineage of Mbuyuwamwambwa. That's the relationship. And coming to Mbuyu and Nyambe it's a supernatural power that even brought about the kingship, of the Lozi people and also the be-fathering of the monarchy they believe that the monarchy comes from God himself of the Lozi people.

Batuke Imenda:

But again there is another school of thought which talks about the Lozi having been in Barotseland through and through. In fact, they start from the time of God who they called Nyambe. Nyambe who got married to a woman called Nasilele. Nasilele, who is the mother to Mbuyuwamwambwa. Mbuyuwamwambwa was is the mother to Queen, no, Mwambwa Njemakati who is the mother to Mbuyuwamwambwa. And Mbuyuwamwambwa who is the matriarch to the whole line of kings up to today. So the Lozi's strongly believe they come directly from God, Barotse plain, to today.

It may be argued that the Key Informants' conceptualisation of 'the Lozi culture-specific "Earthly Gods", human beings and the relationship between Nyambe and Nasilele is a poetic formulation. Isaac (1983, quoted by Wynter [2015:36]) puts forth that all societies have in their culture some form of origin beliefs, which entail allegorical content and they convey values, ethics and attitudes. Contemplating kinship from the perspective of Lozi historical origins provides a sense of meaning, which in turn allows Us to locate the origin of the social concept or phenomenon of collectivism (Amadiume, 1997:86).

A claim can be made that Nasilele, the wife to Nyambe, synchronises with the masculine God in the Lozi corpus of beliefs. In this circumstance, the socioeconomic base has emerged as the land of the Lozi kingdom which is abstracted as a divine birthright. The process of reproduction is the belief that the royal family has descended directly from Nyambe (Ranger, 1968:227). Thus it may be argued that in this spiritual, social and political status quo, Nasilele is

realised as a matrifocal ancestress because she is the maternal figure in the relationship between Nyambe (God) and the Litunga. Furthermore, it may be argued that the original mother and female ancestress of the Lozi, Mbuyu, harmonises with the patrilineal system of the right to succession within the Lozi royal kinship. Akin to Nasilele, Mbuyu manifests as a spiritual, social and political matrifocal ancestress. In this circumstance, the socioeconomic base has emerged as the land of the Lozi kingdom which Mbuyu established and the process of reproduction is regarded as the re-inscription and retelling of the Lozi myth of origin. This will be elaborated on in the forthcoming Organising Theme of Cultural Geographies.

In the case of the Lozi, a matrifocal social concept is embedded in the representation of our origin, with key “entities” or “Earthly Gods” being embodied by Mbuyu and Nasilele. A case can be made for a complementary ideological system of mother figures being in opposition to male figures as described in their respective socioeconomic bases and processes of reproduction (Amadiume, 1997:85).

Organising Theme: Cultural Geographies

This Organising Theme maps out the significant points at which the physical terrain of the Lozi kingdom is made apparent in the social history of the people. This geographical mapping of Lozi culture may be interpreted as matrifocal with the characterisations given by Key Informants revealing metaphorical symbolisms in the naming of specific places in Barotseland. Amadiume (1997:75) asserts that in the Matriarchal Triangle of mother, daughter and son, “usufruct

access to land” ought to be the focus in theories of kinship. Deploying Amadiume’s Matriarchal Triangle to the intersection of land and gendered expressions of power in the Lozi context highlights some fundamental links between the “poetics of landscape” (McKittrick, 2006:xxiii) and a stretchable net of kinship. An illustration of a matrifocal kinship based moral ideological system stretching throughout the Lozi royal lineage and beyond it, through marriage, materialises in the geography of the Lozi homeland.

An emerging pattern in this Organising Theme is the meaning embedded in the names of villages established at the antecedent of the Lozi kingdom. As explored in the previous Organising Theme in this thematic network, the matriarchal ancestors Mwambwa and her daughter Mbuyu are ostensibly at the epicentre of the cultural construct of collectivism amongst the Lozi people. The discussion around the establishment of the Lozi kingdom brought up some significant examples of the naming of the Lozi terrain in relation to the embodied experiences of the matriarchal figures, Mwambwa and Mbuyu. As characterised by Key Informants:

Mutakela Mubiana:

Mwambwa Njemakati established her village at Kalala (meaning my final destination) to the east of Sifuti. Today, every headman who dies in that area is buried at Kalala. After she left Kalala, Mwambwa Njemakati moved to Sifuti (meaning I am the shoulder and the head carrying everything). She was insinuating that her brother Ilutoya wanted to feel more important than her.

Wamunyima Mubiana Mubita:

Then Mbuyu said, “this is where I will settle.” My village will be much bigger in the north than all other villages. This is where I will leave all my things. This village shall be called “Makono” meaning “a leaf”. That she will leave all her leaves (meaning children) there and all her belongings.

Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele:

And you discover that the kingdoms of the Lozi people, the Luyi people, began from the North, they kept on shifting, going Westwards. Like there was Nkuyu the was Makono, you know, for Mbuyuwambwa. And those kept on shifting up to the current capital which is Lealui now. So they followed the flow of the water, they were coming all the way from there up to the current place.

Rethinking the complex bonds of the Luyi/Lozi royal family in relation to the spatial history means to critically analyse the narratives of oral history that persist in the landscape of Barotseland. In the case of the matriarchal ancestor Mwambwa, Kalala, which means “my final destination” and Sifuti which means “I am the shoulder and the head carrying everything” can be situated within Lozi social history as a poetics of landscape which are understood as real responses to real spatial inequalities (McKittrick, 2006: xxiii). It may be argued that the significance of Kalala and Sifuti in the landscape of Barotseland are reflexively used to depict the social order and transition from female to male leadership on the floodplains. By asserting her power which was ostensibly challenged by her brother Ilutoya, Mwambwa’s naming of Sifuti marks a social dynamic of conflict between siblings. Analysing this within the structure of the Matriarchal Triangle of Mother Daughter and Son, which in this particular geo-historic context

includes Mwambwa as daughter and Ilutoya as Son, illuminates the coexistence of what Amadiume terms “different but interacting cohesive systems” (1997:76). The cohesive systems in this context are the existence of female leadership before Mwambwa, her siblings and children arrived in Barotseland, and the patrilineal system which was emerging with Ilutoya and eventually became prevalent in the Lozi royal kinship structure. This writing and expression by Mwambwa of self and space can be read as a “grammar of liberation, thorough which ethical human-geographies can be recognized and expressed” (McKittrick, 2006: xxiii).

In the case of the matriarchal ancestor Mbuyu, Makono, which means a “a leaf” can be situated within Lozi social history as what McKittrick (2006:xxiii) refers to as a “poetics of landscape which is not derived from the desire for socioeconomic possession”. The poetics of Mbuyu’s children being inscribed into the landscape of Barotseland as the “leaves” of a tree is allegorically symbolised as her, Mbuyu, the first leader of the Luyi/Lozi people. This matrifocal symbolism generated in Mbuyu’s naming of Makono may be interpreted as as originating from the desire to remind us, as her descendants, of the moral primacy of biological motherhood in social relations. Amadiume (1997:153) emphasises the imperative to analyse the socioeconomic basis of the ideological construct of matrifocality, which in the context of the Lozi is the material and imagined geography itself.

The implications of Mbuyu and the poetic landscape of Makono is bolstered by the importance of the material geographic location in the preservation of the Lozi royal kinship structure. The discussion about Key Informant’s role in Lozi society as a senior Induna:

Wamunyima Mubiana Mubita:

Mbuyu began to have children at Makono. First born was Inyambo, second Mwenda, third Yeta (Ya Musa- Yeta 1), fourth Mukwanjikana, fifth Inahama followed by twins – Mwanambinyi and Imafua, followed by, Nolea, then Nakatindi, Namakau.

Wamunyima Mubiana Mubita:

We (I) then bestowed Lubosi Imwiko as Litunga and we took him to Makono. On 13th October 2000 that's when he did the fire ritual at Makono (i.e., starting a fire by rubbing stones until a flame is produced and the tinder catches fire). [This is one of the tests the Litunga-to-be has to pass beforehand³].

Libi Muwana and Sibale Mubita:

After checking the area, Mwambwa said, "I will settle right here". The area was named Sifuti. That was Mwambwa's village.

But the children, including Mbuyu, left and went southwards and settled at the place known today as "Makono". That is where all the royal leadership begins from.

Makono emerges as a place in which the net of kinship is stretched, both in the reproduction of the next generations of the royal family and the in the production of every future leader who is installed as Litunga. The underlying rationale is purportedly because the new Litunga has to be presented and accepted by his predecessors, and the special rites performed at the grave of

³ This note was made by the translator, Professor Patrick Walusiku Matakala (2018)

the ancestress, Mbuyu, that is located at Makono are part of this process (Ocaya, 1993:177). Amadiume would characterise the ritual associated with the Lozi cult of royal graves at Makono as a “dramatization of real events in history” (1997:46) in this illustration of Mbuyu’s “conquest” and “migration” across the floodplain of the Upper Zambezi. Mbuyu therefore plays a creative role in re-inscribing the beginning and the future of the Lozi royal kinship structure. Her presence is apparently manifested by her “Daughters” and “Sons” in the collective sense, framed within The Matriarchal Triangle and cohesively taking shape in the form of a “Tree of life” from which all of her children or “leaves” fall and are fictively reborn.

Makono and Mbuyu’s poetic symbol of the Tree of Life, interpreted as the moral primacy of biological motherhood, yields the question of permanency, since Makono as Mbuyu’s burial place in the material and geographic imagination of the Lozi is a “shrine which cannot be abandoned” (Muuka, 1966:256).

Both Mwambwa and Mbuyu deployed the poetics of landscape to inscribe their struggles, triumphs and as a way of writing of memories of the future. This brings up questions of what it means to “settle in” to an ethnicity.

It may be argued that Mwambwa and Mbuyu contributed to an “ethnoscape” (Smith, 1998:63) in which, once again, women enunciate a significant role in the affirmation of the presence of the Lozi people in the floodplain of the Upper Zambezi. Flint (2003:394) suggests that the Lozi homeland is one of Smith's “ethnoscapes; a poetic landscape that is an extension of character of the ethnic community which is celebrated as such in verse and song.” This brings us to *Kuomboka*, a transhumance ceremony which re-inscribes the presence of the

Lozi people in the floodplain. The movement itself has been taking place since time immemorial and “It is not just a culturally determined ceremony. It is a naturally, socially and economically necessitated periodic evacuation from rising waters of the floodplain” (Mbikusita-Lewanika, 2017).

The discussion around the role and significance of women in Kuomboka highlighted a poetics of landscape which grants respect and leadership to Imwambo, the senior wife to the Litunga, and Mukwae Ngula, the senior princess and female Minister of Justice. As characterised by Key Informants:

Key Informant 1:

During the Kuomboka ceremony, the Moyo Imwambo leads all the princesses in front during limba songs (songs sung by princesses) and it also includes the girls from the palace.

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

Even in her boat during the *Kuomboka* ceremony the paddler is given a head dress (mbewa) as a sign of respect and the same is true for Imwambo.

Adapting Amadiume’s (1997:75) Matriarchal Triangle to the milieu of Lozi public culture situates Imwambo as the “Mother”, the princesses as “Daughters” and the Litunga and the boat paddlers as “Sons”. During *Kuomboka*, the Litunga leads the procession of state barges on the *Nalikwanda*, followed by other state barges; one for Imwambo who is the first wife; and barges allocated to the Balois, the other wives Flint (2006:705). It is within the emerging pattern of cohesive male and female leadership in the procession of *Kuomboka* that

women play the creative role of re-inscribing, through verse and song, an oral history of the Lozi's presence in the flood plain of the Upper Zambezi for centuries. This history of social movement and perennial migration can be characterised as an "outward dramatisation" (Amadiume, 1997:46) in Lozi social history. This geographic story, transcending both land and water, affirms what McKittrick puts forth in *Demonic Grounds, Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (2006:xxiv) in that black women and geography have always functioned together in an interrelated process. In the case of the Imwambo, Mukwae Ngula and the Princesses during *Kuomboka*, a meaningful contribution is made towards the ongoing struggle to assert humanness, in its material and imagined geographic forms, culminating in the Lozi myth of origin and its harmonising of the *Kuomboka* ceremony.

Another emerging pattern in this Organising Theme is usufruct access to land for those who occupy the roles of Litunga la Mboela, Mboanjikana and the senior Mukwaes. The discussion around the socioeconomic powers for these female-designated roles in the Lozi royal kinship structure in relation to the Litunga indicated a traditional system predicated on balanced political powers over land between Lozi men and women. As characterised by Key Informants:

Wamunyima Mubiana Mubita:

They have significant powers such as allocating land without consulting with the Litunga, and they both have royal drums (mutango, maoma, mikubele). The other important female position is Princess Muikwanonge at Sita who is just as equally powerful as Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana and she also has powers to allocate land. The only

difference is that, unlike the other two, Princess Muikwanonge has no royal drums.

Another Key Informant characterised the judicial powers of Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana in land sanctioning. There appears to be a cohesive relationship between the Litunga and his female counterparts, who when situated in Amadiume's (1997) concept of the context of the Matriarchal Triangle, the Litunga is the "Son" and of Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana are the "Daughters":

Mukwae Mutumbaetwa:

They both have powers of giving out land and adjudicating issues in their respective areas. The Litunga has no arbitrary powers to allocate land in these two chiefdoms without consulting them. However, the Litunga may have pieces of land in these two chiefdoms which he can allocate to other interests or family members.

The fluid relationship made evident in the material geography of Barotseland between the male and female leaders in the Lozi royal kinship may be interpreted through the lens of Amadiume (1997:86). It may be argued that in the Lozi system of land allocation, the balancing matriarchal system of female-designated roles functions as a constraint on the patriarchal structure in which the Litunga is chosen from his patrilineal side. Bearing in mind that Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana are female relatives to the Litunga, there exists the possibility for a woman to occupy the roles of Litunga la Mboela or Mboanjikana, who are daughters to the Litunga, or his nieces, or his sister. This supports the claim that "Daughters" within the Lozi Matriarchal Triangle serve to check the

development of totalitarian patriarchy and monolithism, in particular over the socioeconomic basis of land.

Furthermore, the interrelated process between land and senior Mukwaes in the Lozi royal kinship structure highlights the fundamental concepts of a collective ownership of land and a 'living legacy'. According to Key Informants, the titles of senior Mukwaes are names of previous Mukwaes. Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika (2018) described the matrifocal logic behind these titles:

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

You inherit the title you inherit the name you inherit where you sit in the court, but you also inherit a territory. But that territory you have is on behalf of the Barotse Royal Establishment it is not your personal one

The Key Informant went on to give examples of the origin of some of the titles of senior Mukwaes:

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

Like Mukwae Mbuyana now, that title is inherited, she is number 3 she inherited it from her aunt

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

basically some things are already understood some things can be a suggestion some things can be in consultation with the king. So these are chosen but the king has a say. I know the late Mukwae Akatoka was also a granddaughter of king Lewanika, she was the daughter of chief Amukena.

The significance of the senior Mukwae titles, interpreted as ‘living legacies’ insofar as they reinforce the sociocultural legacy of previous “Daughters” in the pervasive Matriarchal Triangle (Amadiume, 1997) is further cemented by marriage. The discussion around the territories which are inherited along with the title of senior Mukwaes allows for a rethinking of the kinship ties and how they are mapped onto land and bodies in the form of titles. As characterised by a Key Informant:

Wamunyima Mubiana Mubita:

The most senior princess is Princess Ngula. Her house (village) is known as Sisheketi and the man who marries Princess Ngula is known as Prince Consul Sisheketi;

The second most senior princess is Princess Muikwanonge. Her house (village) is known as Lubambo and the man who marries Princess Muikwanonge is known as Prince Consul Lubambo;

The third is Princess Mutumbaetwa;

The fourth is Princess Akatoka. Her village is Namaña.

With the above quote in mind, it is apparent that the land which each respective senior Mukwae presides over also functions as a title for her spouse. Thus the names of villages become interconnected between members of the royal family and their respective spouses, with the bonds of kinship within and outside the royal family stretching across the material geography of Barotseland. Another Key Informant described the ritual, which also engages with the material geography of the Zambezi river in Barotseland, through which the spouses of senior Mukwaes gain their titles:

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

Now the spouses also when you marry a princess or you marry a prince, you are taken through a process what can literally be translated as *your commonness has been washed away*. They actually take you to the river and wash you and say now you are no longer a common person you are now a member of the royal family and they give you a name. And the name is actually like what the British do it's named by area for example our line basically, Ishee means duke, Mukola is an area where Mbikusita I was, so you will be called Ishee Mukola. Although any member of the royal family can use that name also for their prince consort. So it's by area. Ishee Makono, Makono is an area. And then these names have also seniority, there is Ishee Imwambo, is the most senior of the Ishee's. Usually the princesses whose fathers were kings are likely to have Ishee Imwambo, Ishee Makono.

An interesting point to consider in the quote above is the apparent seniority of the titles Ishee Imwambo and Ishee Makono. According to another Key Informant, "Imwambo is the burial place of Mboo, the first male Litunga" and the son to the matriarchal ancestor Mbuyu (Wamunyima Mubiana Mubita, [Key Informant], 2018). As already discussed, Makono, meaning a "leaf" is Mbuyu's burial ground, the place where she began to have children, and the place where every newly chosen Litunga performs a fire ritual as a test to become the Litunga. It may be argued that both Makono and Imwambo are sacred and significant places in Barotseland where the first two leaders, Mbuyu and Mboo are buried and continue to wield power. Mainga (1966:238) characterises the Lozi kingdom as a "Sudanic type divine monarchy", in which "the dead kings

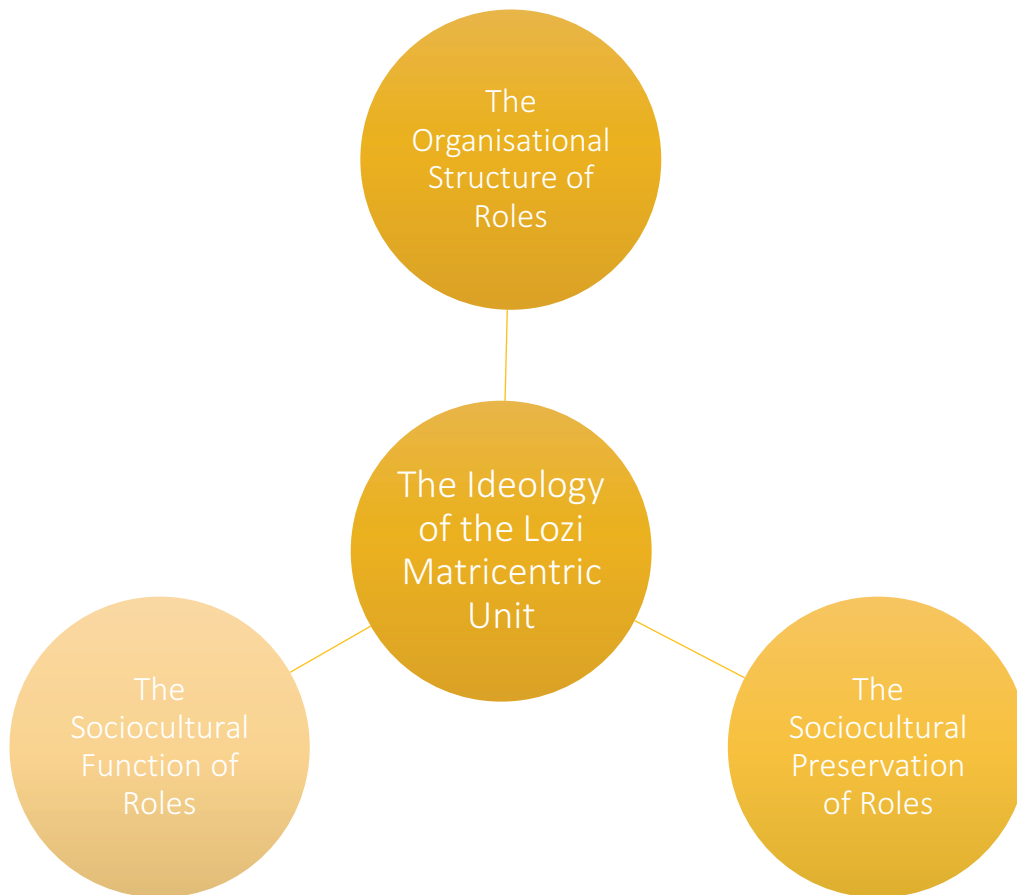
continue to wield their power among the living through the institution of royal graves. The dead kings are still consulted and given all the respects due to monarchs; they are even deemed more powerful than the living.” Ocaya (1993:179) hold similar views, stating that the Lozi believe that the deceased Litunga can “influence the fate of individuals and of the nation as a whole”. A case can be made for the institution of the royal graves of Makono and Imwambo continuing to wield the respective powers of Mbuyu and her son Mboo. This is achieved in part through the collective sharing of the name of their royal graves through marriage ties and the titles bestowed through the ritual of being “washed of commonness” into the royal family in the material geography of the Zambezi river. Thus the royal graves of Makono which is realised as a feminine geographical location of spiritual and political importance through Mbuyu, and Imwambo which is realised as a masculine geographical location of spiritual and political importance through Mboo, reinforce the argument of a juxtaposition of matrifocal and patrilineal systems at work amongst the Lozi.

As reiterated by McKittrick (2006:143) “Poetics, real and imagined geographies, put demands on traditional geographic arrangements because they expose racial-sexual functions of the production of space and establish new ways to read (and perhaps live) geography”.

To surmise, the juxtaposition of matrifocal and patrilineal systems is exemplified in a myth of origin which is manifested in the physical landscape of the Lozi and in the innate understanding of lineage. The Lozi ontology of collectivism finds its nexus with the female ancestresses Mbuyu and her mother Mwambwa. While the succession to the highest throne in the Lozi corpus of beliefs is patrilineal, inheritance amongst the Lozi is open to all genders. The bonds of kinship

between daughters and sisters in the royal family mutually condition the role of Litunga, while the roles of Natamoyo and Mukwae Ngula engender a balance of gender and political power. The Lozi Matricentric Unit provides a fitting framework to grasp the notion of political motherhood as a mechanism to balance the distribution of power in the Lozi royal kinship structure.

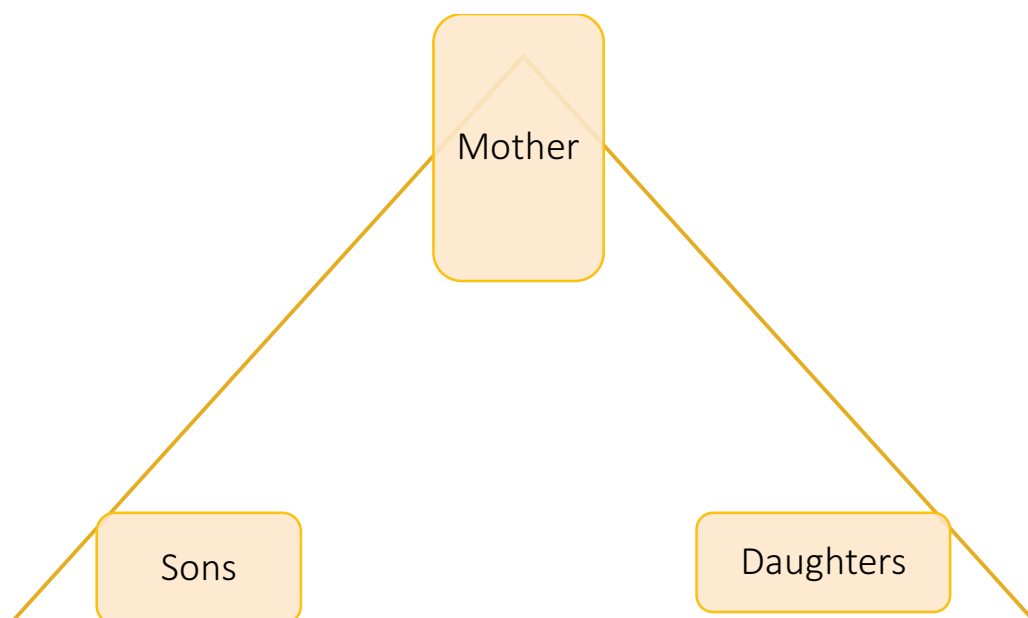
CHAPTER 6 The Ideology of the Lozi Matricentric Unit



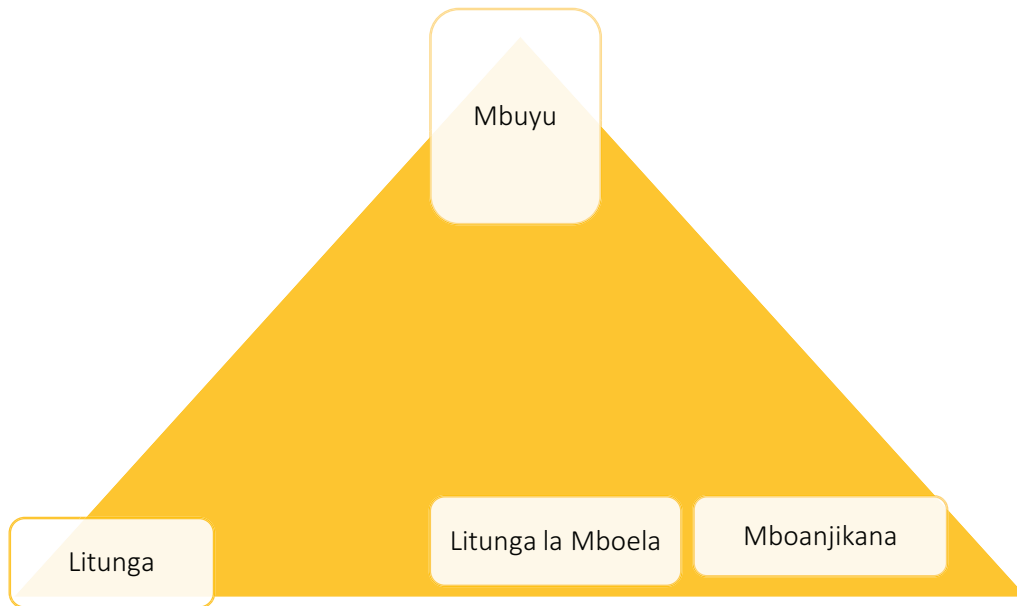
The second thematic network to be explored is The Ideology of the Lozi Matricentric Unit. The Matricentric Unit is derived from Amadiume's conception of ideological gender relations (Amadiume, 1997) and has been explained in full in Chapter 4. This Thematic Network is comprised of 3 Organising Themes and 40 Basic Themes. This network represents informant's conceptualisation of role allocation in the broader context of the Barotse Royal Establishment and explores the axis at which power and gender intersect. According to Muuka (1966:257) those who established the Lozi kingdom in the 17th century, the

Aluyana or Luyi people, created political institutions which began with the village headmen at the base. Power and authority rose in triangular fashion, until they found their apex in the Litunga. The “triangular fashion” which Muuka describes is interpreted amongst the Lozi as the tripartite structure which is manifested at different levels;

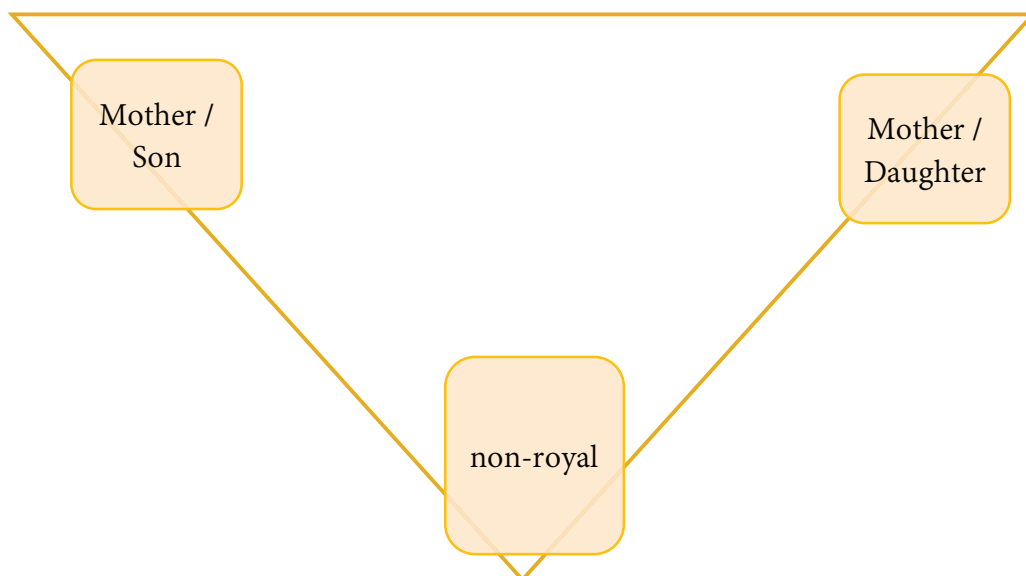
The prototype for the Lozi tripartite structure/ matriarchal triangle, which contains the kinship terms “Mother” “Daughters’ and “Sons”



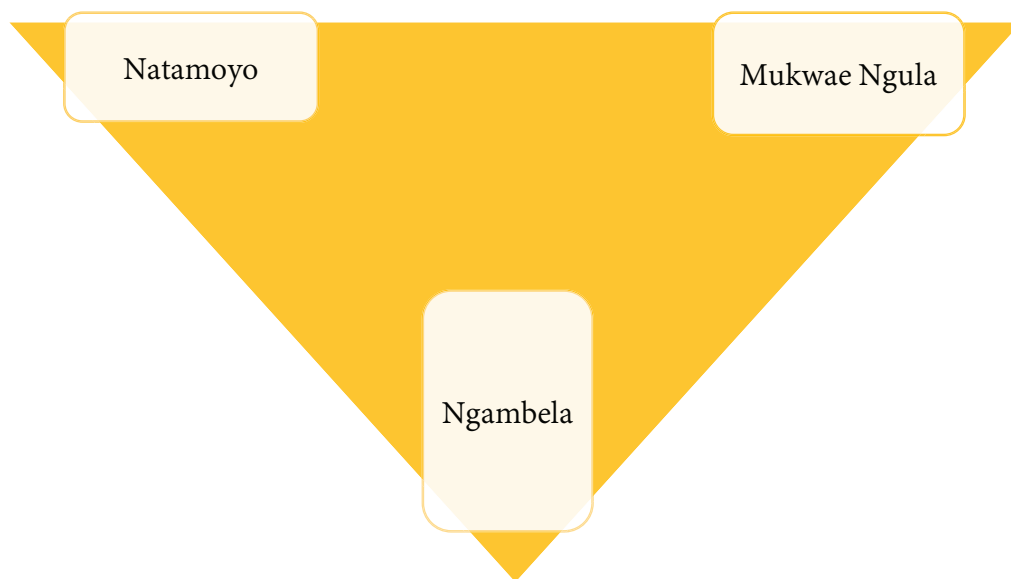
The prototype is interpreted as the primary tripartite structure when it is occupied by the roles of Mbuyu (Mother); Litunga (Son); Litunga la Mboela(Daughter) and Mboanjikana (Daughter)



The prototype for the Lozi tripartite structure/ matriarchal triangle, which contains the interchangeable kinship terms “Mother / Son” “Mother / Son’ and “non- royal”



The prototype is interpreted as the secondary tripartite structure when it is occupied by the roles of Natamoyo (Mother / Son); Mukwae Ngula (Mother / Daughter) and Ngambela, who is the prime minister (non-royal)



A conceptual link can be made between the tripartite structure which organises roles in the Lozi royal kinship structure and Amadiume's (1997:75) concept of the matriarchal triangle which contains the kinship terms of "mother," 'daughter," and "son." This will be brought to light in the Organising Theme of the "The Organisational Structure of Roles"

"The Sociocultural Function of Roles" in the Lozi royal kinship structure and "The Sociocultural Preservation of Roles" will be unpacked in this chapter as Organising Themes which illuminate what Amadiume (2002; 61) as the "ethics

of kinship and social relations” that forms part of what I argue to be the Ideology of the Lozi Matricentric Unit.

The structural significance of women is made apparent in the multitude of roles available for them to occupy. Their significance is contained and shaped by the parameters of authority these roles carry and the communitarian replication of these roles. Amadiume (1997:74) argues through the lens of Diop on the question of kinship structures in contemporary social formations, advancing that it is the material conditions which determine the structure of kinship and its patterns of change. Applying this notion to this research entails an analysis of the material conditions which impact kinship structures in the contemporary social formations of the Lozi, which gives rise to the Ideology of the Lozi Matricentric Unit.

Organising Theme: The Organisational Structure of Roles.

This Organising Theme pertains to the configuration of roles to be occupied by women and their relationship with other members of the royal family. It is within this Organising Theme that the hierarchy of power positions becomes apparent. Within the primary tripartite structure of Litunga, Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana, peace and unity is negotiated within the royal family. The primary tripartite structure presents female leadership as co-operative and situates the roles as interdependent. The two females in power, Litunga la

Mboela and Mboanjikana, serve to enhance the the role of male leadership, the Litunga. As characterised by Key Informants:

Libi Muwana and Sibale Mubita:

Because of past differences among male relatives, it was felt that females are pacifiers and good listeners that would bring families together and that having female queens ruling alongside the Litunga would enhance motherly advice to the Litunga. Lozis have always believed in democracy and gender balance. That is why even today, in our courts, it is not one person adjudicating over issues but many individuals in order to promote fair justice. We also understood that our royalty was started by a woman and not a man and therefore women should continue to play a big role in Lozi governance systems – that is why we have Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana, both positions forever reserved for female queens.

With the above quote in mind, a matriarchal kinship that is expressed as an ideological system is made evident due to the roles of Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana serving to perpetuate female leadership depicted in the first leader of the Luyi/Lozi people, Mbuyu, who was a woman. It was her son Mboo who became the first male Litunga of the Luyi/Lozi people. Considering that these roles are occupied by either sisters, daughters or nieces to the Litunga, the ancestress Mbuyu can be situated as the “Mother” in the Matricentric unit and the roles of Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana as the “Daughters.” Furthermore, the collective decision to instil female leadership arose out of material conditions that were present at the time, as characterised by a Key Informant:

Mutakela Mubiana:

The queenship in these two places started following differences between two brothers Mubukwanu and Silumelume while they were ruling at Lwambi and Libonda, respectively. The people discussed and said we need a woman who can take over Lwambi. They got Notulu. After Notulu came Matauka who was the sister to Lewanika. Litunga la Mboela is the most important advisor to the Litunga. In case the Litunga is absent for some time, it is Mboanjikana who acts as Litunga and not Litunga la Mboela.

Lwambi is the location of the royal palace designated for Litunga la Mboela and Libonda is the location of the royal palace designated for Mboanjikana. The brothers Mubukwanu and Silumelume reigned during the period of an escalating civil war which preceded the Makololo period in the mid-17th century (Mainga, 2010:203).

In the primary conception of the tripartite structure of Litunga, Litunga la Mbolea and Mboanjikana, the roles became contingent with one another in a rethinking of the kinship network. The inclination towards female leadership at Lwambi and Libonda ostensibly stems from the moral code that the Litunga la Mboela, as narrated by Key Informant *Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele*, “...because she is a female, she is not allowed to be on the throne of the Litunga bwa Bulozzi”. The resolution which followed the dispute between two brothers relied on a logic of “shared motherhood that allows for a sense of single boundedness even among siblings of different fathers” as explained by Adésinà (2010:11). In the case of the Lozi, shared motherhood was demonstrated with the possibility of Litunga la Mboela being open to daughters and nieces to the Litunga.

It follows then that there is a pattern of shared parenthood that is reflected in the of designations of the Litunga as “son” and Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana who are seen as “daughters” in the Lozi Matricentric unit. As characterised by Key Informants:

Mutakela Mubiana:

Mwambwa is the origin of our Lozi tradition. They came from Kola. She is the parent to all those children I mentioned. Without her, there would be no Lozi royalty today. Among her children was Mbuyu. Mbuyu is the one who handed over her queenship to her children.

Key Informant 1:

In terms of seniority Litunga la Mboela is regarded as the child of the Litunga who is regarded as the parent.

Likewise, in the secondary tripartite structure of the Lozi royal kinship, there is a designation of a parental role which is allocated to Mukwae Ngula, as characterised by Key Informants:

Mukwae Mutumbaetwa:

Makoshi or Mukwae Ngula is the official mother to the Litunga principally to advise the Litunga on the sentiments and grievances of the princesses.

Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele:

Mukwae Ngula is believed to be the Queen Mother. She's got the right of how a mother has to do to a child. A mother can be an advisor, an initiator, and the like.

The secondary tripartite structure of the Lozi royal kinship is occupied by two males (Natamoyo and Ngambela) and one female (Mukwae Ngula). Mukwae Ngula is the most senior princess title and she is regarded as a mother to the Litunga, though she is not his biological mother, rather a biological sister or eldest daughter. Natamoyo is the only title reserved for a senior prince. A case can be made for the performative enactment of the role of Natamoyo fostering notions of collectivism, nurturance and protection which Amadiume (1997:82) would categorise as an ideological message derived from womb symbolism. Amadiume's use of the term is read in the context of her Nnobi society, in which a structural unit derives a whole set of matriarchal meanings and ethics symbolized in a concept of "a place of shelter" (1997:85). In the context of the secondary tripartite structure of the Lozi royal kinship, the house of Natamoyo arguably symbolizes a place of shelter. Gluckman (1963:1524) depicts the role of Natamoyo as "the "Giver-of-life" who is located among "the great commoners" to represent the Litunga as the "fountainhead of justice and mercy." As such, the customs, rules and morality which binds the great commoners of Barotseland with Natamoyo signify a place of safety from persecution, a place of shelter that is derived from the womb symbolism of the "Mother of Life" (Amadiume, 1997:85).

Ocaya (1993:181), provides an example of nurturance and protection expressed via a place of refuge provided by Natamoyo:

“A person found guilty of killing another person without a just cause, was condemned to death by the king and was subsequently executed. However, if such a convict took refuge in the house of Natamoyo (Mother of Life), a feat not easy to accomplish, the sentence was not carried out.”

Key Informants provided more insight:

Libi Muwana and Sibale Mubita:

Natamoyo means “life giver”, he represents the royal children. The royal children present their issues to the Natamoyo and not the main court or Kashandi. Natamoyo has his own court and so does Mukwae Ngula. While Natamoyo mainly represents male children, Mukwae Ngula represents female children but they both work together.

The roles of Natamoyo and Mukwae Ngula involve dealing with judicial affairs of Lozi society and royal family members. The affairs and tasks within the Lozi royal kinship are divided according to gender, with Natamoyo consulting with male family members and Mukwae Ngula consulting with female family members respectively. Both roles serve to function the delivery of justice, thus their roles in the Lozi royal kinship structure are balanced according to gender, with a *matrius* figure (Mukwae Ngula) opposite a *patrius* figure (Natamoyo) (Diop, 1991:121).

An emerging principle in the secondary tripartite structure of the Lozi royal kinship is shifting material conditions (Amadiume, 1997:78) contributing to the dual presence of a centralised and decentralised system. Through the roles of Natamoyo and Mukwae Ngula, it may be argued that the character of the Lozi

traditional system includes checks and balances relative to the paramount leader (Ranger, 1968:245) the Litunga. In this sense, the titled roles in the Lozi royal kinship represent a degree of centralised control. When it comes to the principle of political succession, power is diffused to the periphery considering that hereditary chiefs are overseen by Lozi caretakers or in the outlying provinces. This principle of political succession in turn produces centres of cultural and ideological diffusion (Vansina, 1962:333).

It may be argued that the organisational structure of roles in the Lozi royal kinship has a double descent kin-group organization (Forde, 2015:285) which discloses a balance of gender perspectives in judicial matters, as represented by the roles of Natamoyo and Mukwae Ngula.

One of the Key Informants in this research, *Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika* occupied the role of Mukwae Ngula during the reign of Mwanawina III who was Litunga from 1948 to 1968. Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika described the process of role allocation:

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

...your grandfather's Mukwae Ngula was his sister, Mukwae Mutumbaetwa was the Mukwae Ngula. When she passed away I am the oldest daughter so it is possible it was just agreed that this is the oldest daughter so this is Mukwae Ngula. So most of them, I would say I was chosen by consensus but also seniority.

With the above quote in mind, the secondary tripartite structure of the Lozi royal kinship reveals the pattern of age being a determining factor in the

structure of role allocation. A precedent of age and gender being inter-reliant when it comes to role allocation is applicable to the role of Mukwae Ngula, which *Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika* described as “I was chosen by consensus but also seniority.”

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

...what is most important in the Lozi culture is how old you are. The gender is not really an issue. If you are brilliant if you are hard working. I guess because the first woman was, a woman, really. And then we have the deputy king and the number three are women. What people fight for is how old you are, because age comes with privileges and respect.

The Key Informant went on to describe the relationship between the roles of Mukwae Ngula and Natamoyo:

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

When it comes to advising the king Mukwae Ngula is actually more senior than Natamoyo. Her voice carries more weight and she is chosen so she can be honest with the king.

Another key role in the secondary level of the tripartite structure in the Lozi royal kinship is Ngambela, who is the Prime Minister and a non-royal member of the kinship structure. The Ngambela represents the members of Lozi society who are outside the ruling elite, and it is a position reserved for a male. The Ngambela is line of communication between the Litunga and the people, he takes on an advisory role to the Litunga. Further, he plays an administrative role between the people through the village headmen and the Litunga, performing

the important duty of ensuring that the wishes of the king do not go against the interests of the people (Ocaya, 1993:178).

A case can be made for the secondary tripartite structure in the Lozi royal kinship playing a key role in supporting the permanency of the primary tripartite structure in the Lozi royal kinship. The discussion about the choice and installation of the Litunga disclosed the roles which the Ngambela and Mukwae Ngula play in governance issues, as characterised by Key Informants:

Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele:

...the term Ngambela which means, it is a two-word sentence, Nga-ambela, which means a spokesperson. Ambela or amba comes from an old Lozi term which means to speak. So the speaker or the spokesperson of the whole kingdom, and he doesn't do that all alone. There are certain princesses who have got hierarchs in the Lozi culture like if there's the Mukwae Ngula, there is Mukwae Mwikainonge and other princesses, these are called on board.

The prevailing concept of motherhood in the organisational structure of roles arguably tells us that family relations are based on an operative ethic of communalism. This performative enactment of social motherhood is further emphasised by the council of women known as Anatambumu. Mainga (2010:37) puts forth that during the emergence of the Luyana central kingship, the social institution of *Lifunga* sought out bright and promising girls to actively participate in the running of government affairs through the council of women who were known as "Mothers of the King." Key Informants characterised the nature and purpose of Anatambumu:

Batuke Imenda:

And then we have a council of princesses which does not only include, which is not only predominately royal, but it also includes non-royals, that is called Anatambumu. That's the mothers of the system, when they say Mbuyu, they start from the beginning, so those are the mothers of the entire government system. They have the right to advise the cabinet, they have the right also in conjunction with Mukwae Ngula to go and advise the King.

Mukwae Mutumbaetwa:

Anatambumu is a group of very influential and senior female royal family members close to the King who take care of his welfare, provide advice and act as ears of the King to ensure the King is well-informed, protected and on a right course.

I found a matriarchal pattern of what Nzegwu (2004:564) would delineate as a "dominant ethos of socio-political organization." This was reflected in the roles of Mukwae Ngula, Natamoyo and Anatambumu and their performative enactment of motherhood in fundamental institutions of Lozi governance. The discussion about maternal roles in the Lozi royal family revealed a matrifocal logic which attributes value to women's advice, instilling a moral kinship based on the original matriarch and first leader, Mbuyu. The kinship bond between Mbuyu's "children" in the Lozi Matricentric Unit accordingly places them in positions of power as a means of empowering both women (Mukwae Ngula and Anatambumu) and men (Natamoyo) "structurally against (dualistic) and in cooperation with (holistic) the patriarchal system" (Amadiume, 2002:58).

Organising Theme: The Sociocultural Function of Roles.

This Organising Theme pertains to the range of sites of authority, tasks and expectations of female-designated roles in the Barotse Royal Establishment. The discussion of role allocation highlighted some fundamental tensions revolving around communication and physical being in relation to role allocation in the Lozi royal kinship structure. This network represents Key Informant's conceptualisation of authority that is held by Mukwae Ngula, Imwambo, Litunga la Mboela, Mboanjikana, and the senior Mukwaes.

A significant role is that of Mukwae Ngula / Makoshi which Mainga (2010:37) describes as "Mother of the King" or "Queen Mother." She is a principal advisor to the Litunga and her power transcends the sphere of senior Mukwaes to the public arena of the *Kuta* or inner council. One of the Key Informants is *Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika* and she occupied the role of Mukwae Ngula during the reign of the Litunga Mwanawina III (1948-1968). She provided her impressions of "...very very senior princesses by age and by title. You have your own name but once you are chosen or identified for that title, you change your name, nobody calls you Inonge again, they call you Mukwae Ngula" (Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika, [Key Informant] 2018). She went on to provide a description of a dialectical position in the Lozi royal kinship structure:

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

Mukwae Ngula is the chief advisor to the Litunga. Mukwae Ngula also has a veto power over what the council decides she can veto it. She doesn't sit there, but if she thinks that ruling does not fully represent the people or it doesn't make them happy she can veto that.

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

When it comes to advising the king Mukwae Ngula is actually more senior than Natamoyo. her voice carries more weight and she is chosen so she can be honest with the king.

Despite the absence of her physical presence in the court, Mukwae Ngula / Makoshi has veto power which demonstrates the inclusion of women in Lozi judicial proceedings. An analysis of the function of this role brings our attention to the conditions in which women exercise power within their lineage. The analysis of the organisational structure of roles in this Thematic Network demonstrated that Mukwae Ngula (Makoshi) is either a sister or daughter to the Litunga who is appointed, and part of her function is to act as a mother or parent. As narrated by Key Informants:

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

it has been already understood that Mukwae Ngula should be a sister or the oldest daughter because they want somebody... it was always for the selfish reason of the people they want somebody who is not afraid the king somebody who will be frank somebody who will be honest.

Mukwae Mutumbaetwa:

Mukwae Ngula is the head of the royal family members; she is the parent.

Bearing in mind that seniority is a contingent organising principle in the process of becoming the Mukwae Ngula, it may be argued that at different times, a meaningful social ascription is given to sisters and daughters to the Litunga. This in turn transforms the social ascription of sisters and daughters to the status of political motherhood (Nzegwu, 2004:563), functioning to uphold honesty towards an inclusive social order within the Lozi royal kinship structure.

In *The Judicial Process Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*, Gluckman (1973:216-217) notes that,

“Many presumptions arise from this system which determine the shape of Lozi morals and principles of natural justice. In the courts, where there are no women though there are female leaders, these presumptions influence judicial reasoning, which thus applies and even develops existent morality in defence of the structure of male-female relations”

Issues of representation arise in the discussion of the presence of women in the Lozi courts. Based on the Key Informants’ portrayal of Mukwae Ngula as being Minister of Justice, she is situated as more senior in the hierarchy than her male counterpart, Natamoyo, and her physical absence in the court does not diminish the possibility for her authority. In the aforementioned quote, Gluckman (1973) falls into an epistemic trap by insisting on what Amadiume (1997:80) depicts as “a general theory of male dominance in all types of descent systems.” Mukwae Ngula / Makoshi’s voice holds weight in multiple connections within her lineage,

including the Litunga, the other senior Mukwaes, Natamoyo and the sociocultural space of the court. Consequently, the role of Mukwae Ngula / Makoshi indicates a dialectical and structural relationship with the male-dominated juridical system.

When understood within the framework of a “political matriarchal system” (Adésinà, 2010:11) the function of Mukwae Ngula/Makoshi’s role in Lozi jurisprudence exhibits a link with matrifocality in a patrilineal context. Insofar as the Litunga is the brother, father or uncle of she who assumes the role of Mukwae Ngula, there is a fluid and reciprocal structural relationship with a daughter, sister or niece. When viewed through Amadiume and Diop’s lens of matriarchy in an African context (Diop 1991, Amadiume 2005: 94), the linearity of human evolution is disrupted. This much is true considering that the patrifocal nuclear family which centralises the man or father and individualistic relations is an unsuitable basis for the reciprocal, mother-focused relationship between Mukwae Ngula in relation to the Litunga.

The discussion about the function of the roles of Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana highlighted the key players in conflict resolution in the Lozi royal kinship structure. A significant historical period to analyse in this context is Barotseland’s scramble for protection in the late 19th century.

In *Neither Arbitrary nor Artificial: Chiefs and the Making of the Namibia-Zambia Borderland*, Zeller (2010) makes some acute observations concerning the fundamental role played by traditional leaders in state formation in colonial Africa. According to Zeller (2010:4) June 27 1890 marked the signing of the Lochner concession between the Litunga at the time, Lewanika, and Franck

Lochner, an agent of the British South Africa Company. External invasion and internal conflict was in need of resolution, with threats to the Lozi kingdom coming from the East by the Tonga and Ndebele groups and from the South by the Subiya group. A crucial aspect of Lewanika's approach to strengthen his position and preserve the borders of geopolitical power of the Lozi kingdom was to appoint trusted representatives to secure control over the volatile frontiers in the south, Linyanti and Shesheke, which is the present day Zambia/Namibia borderland. "At Shesheke, Lewanika created a senior chieftaincy, to which he appointed his son and later successor Litia in 1893" (Zeller, 2010:5).

Key Informants *Mukwae Mutumbaetwa*, *Wamunyima Mubiana Mubita* and *Key Informant One* asserted that Matauka was Litunga la Mboela during Lewanika's reign of 1887 – 1916. One of the Key Informants, *Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika* affirmed that Matauka "...was in full charge of her territory and reported to the king". Bearing in mind that Litunga la Mboela has jurisdiction over the southern geographical region of Barotseland, the territory she was in charge of can be recognised as an abundant territory. Shesheke, which fell under Matauka's territory, was a rich hunting and fishing ground which afforded dry season pasture, construction materials, labour and women from the Subiya and other subject people in the area across the Zambezi who would provide tribute to the Barotse Royal Establishment (Caplan, 1969:39). During this transitional phase of the Lozi-Euro encounter, Matauka as Litunga la Mboela would have controlled and benefited from a material base of tribute and labour which shifted to monetary income distributed by the British South Africa Company (Zeller, 2010:6).

The discussion about the function of the role of Imwambo, the senior wife to the Litunga, furthered the pattern of women enacting and advisory role within the Lozi royal kinship. As characterised by Key Informants:

Mutakela Mubiana:

The Lozis always believed that the Litunga alone would not manage to run Barotseland without the aid of Imwambo. Imwambo must be a very respected woman. Imwambo is one of the key advisors of the King. Sometimes, Imwambo is consulted by senior Indunas in confidence on key governance issues because it may be felt that it could be the only way to get the Litunga to listen. Sometimes, Litunga might be in disagreement with his *Kuta*⁴ and in cases like that, Imwambo might be consulted to ease the situation so that she talks to the Litunga. Imwambo swears to secrecy. She is not an ordinary woman who will divulge anything.

Libi Muwana and Sibale Mubita:

Imwambo is one of the chief advisors to the Litunga. Imwambo also trains a lot of women about the royal traditions.

One of the Key Informants in this research, *Key Informant 1* was the Imwambo to a former Litunga. She characterised the role she occupied within the Lozi royal kinship structure:

Key Informant 1:

Imwambo is the head of all wives to the Litunga but she also plays a key role over matters presided in the main court (Kashandi). She has Indunas

⁴ *Kuta* is the Silozi term for “court” or “council” (Mainga, 2010:49)

who represent her in the main court, those are Induna Imasikwana, Induna Awami and Induna Iñamba. These relay issues to her that have been discussed in the main court. Even when an Induna is appointed, Moyo Imwambo advises/instructs the appointed Induna based on what the main court has decided and communicated to her. After that, the Induna is then taken to the main court (Kashandi) where the Litunga will finally give him instructions.

The dialectical and structural relationship that *Key Informant 1* describes between Imwambo, her Indunas and the Litunga indicates the actualisation of political influence for Lozi women. It may be argued that the role of Imwambo is empowered in cooperation with the patriarchal system (Amadiume, 2002:58) of the Litunga and the Indunas, who are male.

An emerging pattern in this Organising Theme is the centrally creative role women play in the production and reproduction of Lozi society. Amadiume (1997:81) advocates for the description of the organisational unit so that power and conflict may be analysed. It becomes clear within this Organising Theme that Imwambo garners political power in advising the Litunga. The implementation of her power transcends the sphere of domesticity (Adésínà, 2010:11) in the royal palace to the public arena of governance in the *Kuta* (council) in Lozi society. As characterised by Key Informants in the above quotes, Imwambo acts as a line of transmission between the males who occupy the roles of Litunga and senior Indunas. Thus it may be reasoned that Imwambo is responsible for not only the reproduction of future generations of the royal family who will occupy roles such as Litunga la Mboela, Mboanjikana, Natamoyo and senior Mukwaes, she is also responsible for the production of affective

governance. The function of the role of Imwambo is further mitigated in relation to other wives of the Litunga, as characterised by Key Informants:

Mutakela Mubiana:

The Litunga has other women (Baoli). Imwambo is the head. Balois, they have to go through Imwambo to the Litunga.

It may be argued that the title of Imwambo is one of many shifting identity locations open to women in the Lozi context who marry the Litunga. Nzegwu (2004:564) points out that females in Igboland in Nigeria, are in neither a “permanently subordinate or dominant situation.” Rather, the categories of “motherhood and seniority” transmute the position of wife to one of “formidable importance”. The same can arguably be said for Imwambo as the wife to the Litunga, whose status as the most senior wife, and mother to *Linabi* (children to the Litunga), delineate the cultural parameters of her power.

Thus a case can be made for Imwambo functioning as a peace builder within the royal family and extending into governance, alongside other senior female-designated roles including Litunga la Mboela, Mboanjikana and Mukwae Ngula.

Organising Theme: The Sociocultural Preservation of Roles.

This Organising Theme pertains to the ways in which the role allocation is maintained in the Barotse Royal Establishment. It is within this Organising Theme that the mechanisms and strategies of the Lozi royal kinship structure

are made apparent. The discussion of role allocation highlighted the link between understanding and spiritual being in relation to role allocation in the Lozi royal kinship structure. This Organising Theme represents the informant's conceptualisation of dynasty, divine monarchy and issues of representation. A significant concept which emerges in this Organising Theme is "sikuñu" as characterised by one of the Key Informants in this research when questioned on who takes reign in Lozi tradition:

Mutakela Mubiana:

There is what is known as "sikuñu" in Lozi. Sikuñu can be translated as a "Consent", something that cannot be broken. From the beginning, only those who descended from Mbuyu could take reign. Lewanika also put a "sikuñu" that only his family line would reign as Litungas. Today, we are still afraid of breaking that, we all respect that consent.

The enactment of "sikuñu" can be understood as a mechanism instilled by the traditionalist Lozi group who sought to restore the Lozi kingdom to the pre-Makololo period. Caplan (1969: 278) provides some historical context for the time period of 1840 to 1864 during which Barotseland was conquered by a group of Sotho people who had fled north as a result of the Shakan revolution in present-day South Africa. Having found a succession struggle in Barotseland following the death of the Litunga Mulambwa, the group of Sotho people known as Kololo, dominated Barotseland under the leadership of Sibitwane.

Mainga (2010:100) asserts that the traditionalist groups sought to revive Lozi institutions "...particularly a kingship deriving its sanctions from its relationship with the ancestor spirits as expressed through the cult of the royal graves and

from the divine descent of the kings from Nyambe, the High God, through Mbuyu and Mwambwa.”

In 1885 when Lubosi Lewanika re-assumed the throne as Litunga, he did so as a patrilineal descendant of Mulambwa, who was his paternal grandfather and a direct descendant of Mbuyu. Lewanika’s sister Matauka regained her title as Litunga la Mboela (Caplan, 1969:280) thus reinstating the divine kingship of Lozi ancestry in the frame of the primary tripartite structure of mother/daughter/son.

The discussion about lineage and its impact in role allocation brought up issues around material conditions that impacted leadership which included geo-political tensions between the Lozi, the neighbouring ethnic groups. As characterised by one of the Key Informants:

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika:

The people of Barotseland, the king is chosen by the people according to what is going on in the kingdom and who they think is best. I think at one point they tried to have, where they learnt not to have an automatic secession, was when king Sibitwane of Lesotho, when he conquered them he was a good ruler that's why he was accepted even though he was a foreign king. But when he died his son took over, his name was Sekeletu, he was such a lousy leader that they removed him. Then they cemented the idea that when the king passes away the people will choose the best from all male members of the royal family. So you had Mulambwa you had Inyambo they were all members of the royal family but what has been interesting I guess we can call it the Lewanika dynasty. Since king

Lewanika died, four of his sons became king, became Litungas... and I think the reason they did that is because they were very dynamic they were leaders who were connected with the people.

The Lozi Royal kinship is characteristic of a Sudanic type divine monarchy. In this type of state, "...the central figure is a sacred king who is the head of both the state and the theocracy. The king is surrounded by mystery, ritualism and magic. It is believed that he holds his power as much by the consent of his dead predecessors as by that of his living subjects" (Mainga, 1966:238). Key Informants characterised the relationship between the royal family, Nyambe and the Lozi people and the strategy which maintains the sociocultural construction of roles.

A strategy of the Barotse Royal establishment to preserve Lozi culture in which women play a fundamental role is storytelling. The cultural practice of storytelling is a collective experience for the Litunga, Indunas, parents, grandparents and children. According to Key Informant *Mutakela Mubiana*, storytelling is a means to pass on knowledge throughout generations. This geo-specific cultural knowledge is situated as reliant on the duty of Mukwaes to be "primary custodians of their culture" (Mutakela Mubiana, [Key Informant] 2018). In the collective memory bank which is Lozi social history, Key Informant *Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele* (2018) described that "...an old man is a bank or an encyclopaedia of knowledge" whose role as a grandparent is to pass on Lozi culture to their grandchildren. This transmission of knowledge starts as the "village level" (Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele, [Key Informant] 2018). Consequently, Lozi people as what Wynter (2015:38) would term "inter-altruistic kin-recognizing member subjects of the same *referent-we*" preserve

the representations of Lozi origin-mythic past. As the primary custodians of Lozi culture, Mukwaes must “performatively enact their role allocation within the genre-specific societal order” (Wynter, 2015:38) of the Lozi people.

To surmise, the axis at which gender and power intersect in the Barotse Royal Establishment is suitably represented in the form of the matriarchal triangle or tripartite structure, which finds its nexus at the female ancestresses Mbuyu and her mother Mwambwa. This organisational structure contains roles which are interdependent, producing a dialectical relationship between Mbuyu; Mboanjikana; Litunga la Mboela and Litunga in the primary conception of the tripartite structure. Furthermore, in the secondary conception of the tripartite structure, Mukwae Ngula, Natamoyo and the Ngambela suggest a prevailing concept of motherhood which upheld by an operative ethic of communalism.

The function of roles in the Barotse Royal Establishment indicate the creative role that women play in the (re)production of Lozi society in cooperation with the male-designated roles of the Litunga, Indunas and Natamoyo. It has been ascertained in this chapter that conflict resolution, peace building and the dissemination of advice are the main functions of Mukwae Ngula, Imwambo, Litunga la Mboela, Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana, and the senior Mukwaes.

The preservation of these roles and their functions have been identified as mechanism and strategies including the spiritual and political significance of royal graves, patrilineal succession to the throne, and storytelling as a collective cultural practice.

CHAPTER 7 Conclusion in the exploration of female power amongst the Lozi.

This research aimed to explore the construction of female power amongst the Lozi people. Grounded in qualitative data derived from nine interviews conducted in Barotseland in the western province of Zambia in July 2018 it can be concluded that there is a juxtaposition of matrifocal and patrilineal systems operating within the Lozi royal kinship structure and social order at large. The unearthing of the matriarchal roots of the Lozi people resonates with Amadiume's (1997:77) conceptualization of a Matriarchal Triangle of Mother-Daughter-Son, that assisted in grasping intersections of gender, lineage and power amongst the Lozi. The version of matriarchy discovered amongst the Lozi in this research is similar in structure to Amadiume's finding in Nnobi, Igbo society. That being said, this research also raises the question of how the Matriarchal Triangle is reproduced at other levels of Lozi society, in particular the operative ethic of political motherhood and how it has been transformed by the imposition of Western gender constructs.

An interrogation of Lozi cultural practices from a decolonial and gendered perspective allowed for a reframing of Lozi social history. The gaps between colonial empirical texts, Lozi heritage and public culture and the complex locality of Lozi politics were enriched by a focus on the role of the mother and sister in the Lozi royal kinship ideology. This research challenged existing theory on the linearity of human evolution (Diop 1991, Amadiume 2005: 84) by foregrounding the always-already storytelling role enactment of Mbuyu's family which functions as the Lozi genre of being human (Wynter, 2015).

Main Findings

This research weaved together a multiplicity of theories, literature on the Lozi and findings from my Honours research (Matakala, 2017) in order to grasp the ideology and systems of female power. The gendered lens of Nzegwu (2004) and McKittrick (2006) sharpened the focus on the metaphysics of gender and Lozi women's geographies. The probing of Lozi ideology and the rendering of matriarchy in social history was enhanced by the Afrocentric philosophies of Wiredu and Diop. Wiredu's conceptions about bonds of kinship (2009:15) gave a nuanced approach to Diop's (1991:121) suppositions about judicial roles in ancient African societies.

Findings from my Honours research (Matakala, 2017) indicated the significance of the titled positions of Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana having powers over land. Building on these findings, this research has established that senior Mukwaes have judicial powers over land, and that the material geography of the Lozi people reflects the relationships between members of the royal family and their spouses.

An examination of lineage across land and spiritual manifestations is encapsulated in the idea of "Lozi Cultural Geographies" explained in Chapter 5. In this milieu, language serves a symbolic function of mapping gendered and ethnic histories of migration. I found that predominant aspects of matriarchy in Lozi society are located in an expression of matrifocal poetic landscapes. McKittrick's notion of poetic landscapes which depict a re-spatializing of feminism (2006:xxiii) assisted in the understanding of Lozi Cultural Geographies

in this research. For example, a preliminary mapping of Lozi culture points to Makono and Sifuti as significant locales in the material and geographic imagination. These are the respective royal graves of Mbuyu and Mwambwa who are the female ancestresses of the Lozi, then known as the Luyi people. The metaphorical symbolisms derived from Makono and Sifuti serve to preserve the royal kinship, manifesting as the Tree of Life in which Mbuyu's descendants are the leaves.

Duality is a predominant concept in the cultural parameters of roles and status in the Lozi royal kinship structure. Findings indicated that the sociocultural norms of inheritance are double unilineal with children being able to draw resources from both their mothers and fathers side. Rights to succession are understood as patrilineal within a matrifocal system which traces back to the original mother and female ancestress Mbuyu, who was the first leader of the Luyi people in the Lozi homeland. When contrasted with Amadiume's (1997:82) theorisations of matrifocal and patrilineal systems, this distinctive aspect of Lozi governance has emerged as being built upon the socioeconomic basis of land.

The Ideology of the Lozi Matricentric explained in Chapter 6 revealed the dynamic role of gender in role allocation and the ubiquitous presence of female ancestresses, namely Mbuyu and her mother Mwambwa. This research clearly illustrates the Lozi Matriarchal Triangle which identifies Mbuyu as Mother, the Litunga as Son, and Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana as Daughters. The organising principle of gender was also found to be inter-reliant with seniority and material conditions which include geo-political tensions which effected kinship structures.

The complementary matriarchal based ideology amongst the Lozi apparently stems from a myth of origin and constructions of collectivism which indicate the female ancestresses Mbuyu and Mwambwa as entities who mandated the structuring societal order. This research clearly illustrates a matrifocal logic which is imbued by the female ancestresses who bear earthly and spiritual authority, an influence of power which is retroactively projected onto an imagined past (Wynter, 2015:36). Nevertheless, it also raises the question of the paternal spiritual entities in the Lozi corpus of beliefs, Nyambe and the Litunga.

The methodology of chain referral sampling was favourable in answering research questions about female designated roles in the Lozi royal kinship, leading to a range of Key Informants with embodied knowledge on the topic. The roles of Mukwae Ngula and Natamoyo indicate a dialectical and structural relationship in which political motherhood is a mechanism to act as a balancing check on the patrilineal system. Political motherhood is also performatively enacted by the group of women known as Anatambumu.

Areas of Further Research

To better understand the implications of these research findings, future studies could address the contours of the Lozi Matricentric unit. A deeper analysis of which daughters and mothers are intrinsically excluded by the nature of the patrilineal Lozi royal kinship tracing back to Mbuyu would further knowledge about Lozi systems of descent.

Based on these conclusions, practitioners should consider the effects of the postcolonial state of Zambia on roles which foreground political motherhood in Lozi society. The discussion about the apparent disillusionment towards the

promise of modernisation in Barotseland (Ranger, 1968:246) would be enhanced by the nuances of political motherhood and the Ideology of the Lozi Matricentric Unit.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Research Interview Guide – English and Lozi Translation

1. What name did your parents give you?

1. *Libizo lamina la sipepo kimina bo mañi?*

2. How many years ago were you born?

2. *Nemu pepilwe mwa silimo mañi?*

3. How do you spend most of your days?

3. *Ki likamañi zemu ezanga mazazi kaufela?*

4. Where do you come from in Western Province?

4. *Musimuluha kai mwa Bulozhi?*

5. Are we family members, if so, how are we related?

5. *Mu bahabo na nji, haiba kucwalo, lupepwa cwañi?*

6. Who is Mbuyuwamwambwa?

6. *Mbuyuwamwambwa ki mañi?*

7. Can you describe in your own words the Lozi myth of origin? Where do We come from?

7. *Mwakona kotalusa simuluhó ya Ma-Lozi? Luzwelela kai?*

8. How is Our understanding of Lozi origin passed down to the next generation?

8. *Kutwisiso ya simuluhó ya Ma-Lozi ifitiswa cwañi kwa banana baba sataha kwapili?*

9. When it comes to the Litunga, how does his bloodline impact his being chosen for the role?

9. *Hakutaha ku Litunga, sipepo sahae si ama cwañi kuli akone kuketiwa kuba Litunga?*

10. Why must the Litunga be a direct descendant of Mbuyuwamwambwa?
10. *Kutaha cwañi kuli Litunga uswanela kusimuluha ku Mbuyuwamwamba?*
11. What is the relationship between Nyambe, Mbuyuwamwambwa and the Litunga?
11. *Nyambe, Mbuyuwamwambwa ni Litunga ba pepiwa cwañi?*
12. What are the titles of the children to the Litunga, what do these titles mean?
12. *Litulo za bana ba Litunga kilifi, mi litulo ze litalusa ñi?*
13. What are the different words/titles in the Lozi language to refer to females of different ages and social status?
13. *Kiafi manzwi kapa litulo ze itusiswa kutalusa basali ba lilimo ze shutana-shutana kapa kutalusa liyemo zabona mwahala' sicaba?*
14. Who is the reigning Litunga la Mboela?
14. *Ki mañi Litunga la Mboela yabusa kanakoye?*
15. Why is Litunga la Mboela typically a sister to the Litunga?
15. *Kutaha cwañi kuli Litunga la Mboela una nikuba kaizela' Litunga?*
16. Who is the mother to the current Litunga and the Litunga la Mboela?
16. *Kimañi mahe Litunga ni Litunga la Mboela baba busa kanakoye?*
17. What is the social status of the mother to the Litunga and the Litunga la Mboela?
17. *Liyemo la mahe Litunga ni Litunga la Mboela kilifi mwahala' sicaba? Sicaba si baanga cwañi?*
18. Why does the title Litunga la Mboela share a similarity with the title of the Litunga?
18. *Kutaha cwañi kuli situlo sa Litunga la Mboela sibata kuswana ni situlo sa Litunga?*
19. Who was the Litunga la Mboela at the time of Lewanika's second reign, when Barotseland was a British Protectorate?
19. *Kimañi yanali Litunga la Mboela mwa puso yabubeli ya Lewanika foo Bulozhi inge busa silelezwa ki ma-British?*

20. Who was the Litunga la Mboela at the time of Zambian independence?
 20. *Kimañi ya nali Litunga la Mboela Zambia hailukuluha mwa silimo sa 1964?*
21. Who is the reigning Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana?
 21. *Kimañi yali Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana kanako ye?*
22. Why is Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana typically a sister to the Litunga?
 22. *Kutaha cwañi kuli yaba Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana uswanela kuba kaizela' Litunga?*
23. Where does the title of Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana originate from?
 23. *Situlo sa Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana si simuluha kai?*
24. Who is the mother to the current Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana?
 24. *Mahe Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana yabusa kanako ye kimañi?*
25. Who was the reigning Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana at the time of Lewanika's second reign when Barotseland was a British Protectorate?
 25. *Kimañi yanali Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana mwa puso yabubeli ya Lewanika foo Bulozhi inge busa silelezwa ki ma-British?*
26. Who was the reigning Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana at the time of Zambian independence?
 26. *Kimañi ya nali Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana Zambia hailukuluha mwa silimo sa 1964?*
27. How did the Kololo period affect the Lozi royal kinship and centralized state system?
 27. *Nako ya puso ya Ma-Kololo nei cincize cwañi silena ni mubuso wa Malozhi?*
28. How do you describe the status of Lozi women who are members of the royal family:
 a) in relation to men in/outside of the royal family?
 b) in relation to women in/outside of the royal family?

28. *Mukona kutalusa cwañi siyemo sa basali ba lusika lwa silena:*

a) *kwaneku la baana ba lusika lwa silena ni babasi ba silena?*

b) *kwaneku la basali ba lusika lwa silena ni babasi ba silena?*

29. How do you describe the status of Lozi women in the Christian church?

29. *Mukona kutalusa cwañi siyemo sa basali mwa keleke ya Mulimu?*

30. In precolonial Barotseland, when it comes to inheritance/transmission of property, what was the process amongst the Lozi? Does one inherit from the female line of descent or the male line of descent?

30. *Kwa simuluho ya Bulozhi, saanda nesi yoliwa cwañi? Naa kikuli mutu ukona kuyola saanda haiba uzwelela kwa lusika lwa sisali kapa kwa lusika lwa siina?*

31. How was/is the dowry system operate amongst the Lozi in:

a) precolonial Barotseland?

b) colonial Barotseland?

c) present-day Western Province of Zambia?

31. *Taba ya lionda neinzi cwañi mwa Bulozhi:*

a) *kwa simuluho ya Bulozhi foo makuwa basika fita kale?*

b) *foo makuwa inge bafitile mwa Bulozhi?*

c) *kacenu le?*

32. What was the role and function of Anatambumu in Barotse governance?

32. *Musebezi wa Anatambumu mwa puso ya Silozhi neuli ufi?*

33. What is the role and function of Mukwae Ngula in Barotse governance?

33. *Musebezi wa Mukwae Ngula mwa puso ya Silozhi kiufi?*

34. What is the role and function of Imwambo (wives of the Litunga)?

34. *Musebezi wa Imwambo kiufi?*

35. Do/did Makwae (the princesses) have any role in Barotse governance?

35. *Na kikuli Makwae bana ni musebezi mwa puso ya Silozhi?*

Appendix 2: Thematic Network Analysis

Themes as Basic Themes	Organising Themes	Global Themes
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The roles of Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana cooperate with the Litunga towards conflict resolution and peace building 2. The role of Makoshi/Mukwae Ngula preserves Lozi culture by nurturing unity among princes and princesses 3. Wives and princesses report their issues to Mukwae Ngula 4. Because the first leader of the Luyana/Lozi people was a woman and not a man, Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana perpetuate the role of female leadership 5. Anatambumu is a group of very influential and senior female royal family members. Their role is to protect and inform the King. 6. Mukwaes play a role of consulting between Mukwae Ngula and the Litunga 7. Mukwae Ngula is a parental role. 8. In the postcolonial state of Zambia, the role of Litunga la Mboela has 	<p>The organisational structure of roles</p>	<p>The Ideology of the Lozi Matricentric Unit</p>

<p>been displaced by the district commissioner</p> <p>9. Imwambo has Indunas to advise and consult her on key governance issues, including Induna Anambulu and headed by Induna Imasikwana</p> <p>10. Mukwae Ngula is the head of the royal family members</p> <p>11. Natamoyo is the head of all royal family member affairs</p> <p>12. Mukwae Ngula is the most senior princess</p> <p>13. Male members of the royal family can take on the title of Natamoyo which means “life giver”</p> <p>14. Imwambo is the first wife to the Litunga, she is above the other wives to the Litunga who are known as Balois</p> <p>15. Imwambo has 3 Indunas; Induna Imasikwana, Induna Awami and Induna Inamba.</p> <p>16. Litunga la Mboela is regarded as the child of the Litunga</p> <p>17. Litunga La Mboela cannot become a Litunga of Barotseland because she is a female</p>		
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<p>18. The Zambian government infiltrated the traditional power of Mukwae Ngula</p> <p>19. The hierarchy of Senior princesses/Mukwaes is as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. a)Mukwae Ngula b. b)Mukwae Inonge c. c)Mukwae Mutumbaetwa d. d) Mukwae Akatoka 		
<p>20. Imwambo as the senior wife to the Litunga must bear the traits of secrecy, confidence and influence the Litunga with sound advice to rule Barotseland</p>	<p>The sociocultural Function of Roles</p>	<p>The Ideology of the Lozi Matricentric Unit</p>

<p>21. Mukwae Ngula advises the Litunga on sentiments and grievances of the princesses</p> <p>22. Mukwae Ngula takes care of Lyangambwa palace where women work</p> <p>23. Mukwae Ngula leads all the princesses</p> <p>24. Mukwaes influence the choice and installation of the Litunga, along with the Ngambela, who is the Prime Minister</p> <p>25. Mukwae Ngula is a more senior advisor to the Litunga than Natamoyo</p> <p>26. Mukwae Ngula carries the voice of the people to the headquarters</p> <p>27. Imwambo leads the liwale dance inside the palace.</p> <p>28. During the Kuomboka ceremony, Imwambo leads all the princesses and girls from the palace during limba songs</p> <p>29. Mukwae Ngula is like a minister of justice</p> <p>30. In the event of the death of a Litunga, Mukwae Ngula/Makoshi assembles</p>		
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<p>all the princesses to discuss way forward.</p> <p>31. The voice of Lozi women is transmitted through advice</p> <p>32. Litunga la Mboela, Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana, Imwambo and Mukwae Ngula are senior advisors to the Litunga</p>		
<p>33. “sikuñu” is consent, something that cannot be broken</p> <p>34. Lewanika, as a patrilineal descendant of Mbuyu, put forth a “sikuñu” that only his family line would reign as Litungas.</p> <p>35. Mukwaes are the primary custodians of Lozi culture, while male elders are the encyclopaedias.</p> <p>36. Mukwae Ngula represents the Litunga in his absence at the district and provincial level</p> <p>37. In the absence of Mukwae Ngula, Mwikanonge automatically steps in as acting Mukwae Ngula.</p> <p>38. Storytelling is a means for preserving Lozi culture</p>	<p>The sociocultural preservation of roles</p>	<p>The Ideology of the Lozi Matricentric Unit</p>

<p>39. The Lozi pray to their late Kings and Queens for all calamities and to give thanks.</p> <p>40. Talking to our late Kings and Queens is a transmission line to Nyambe</p>		
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Litunga means land 2. Mbuyu's grandparents, Ushaa and Njemakati, migrated from Sudan to Congo with their 5 children including Mwambwa who is the mother to Mbuyu, and her siblings Utoya, Siken, Mwanamuke and Akatoka 3. The Lozi lived along a river called Luyi and that is how they later came to be known as Aluyi 4. The Luyi people came in contact with the Lunda and the Bemba in the district of Kola in Congo 5. Utoya, brother to Mwambwa, migrated westwards with their brothers to Siken and Mwanamuke, leaving Mwambwa behind in Kola 6. Mukwae Mbuyana has power over the jurisdiction of Mongu 7. Litunga la Mboela, Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana, Mukwae Mbuuyana, Mukwae Ngula are titles which 	<p>cultural geographies</p>	<p>The Juxtaposition of matrifocal and patrilineal systems</p>

<p>include the inheritance of a territory, a team of Indunas and judicial powers over land</p> <p>8. Imwambo is free to cultivate the land while she is married to the Litunga.</p> <p>9. “Litunga” means Earth</p> <p>10. During the Kololo King Sibitwane of the Sotho people conquered Barotseland</p> <p>11. Mbuyu settled in the territory and named it “Makono” which means a leaf. Meaning that she will leave all her leaves (meaning children) there and all her belongings</p> <p>12. Mukwae Ngula’s village/house is Sisheketi</p> <p>13. Mukwae Muikwanonge’s village /house is Lubambo</p> <p>14. Mukwae Akatoka’s village/house is Namaña</p> <p>15. When the Litunga dies, Imwambo leaves the royal palace and can live on the plot of land given to her by her husband</p> <p>16. Libala la Bulози/Nguyutautoya is one of the first places the Luyana people settled and is the royal capital of</p>		
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<p>Mboanjikana in the current Libonda village</p> <p>17. Mwambwa, daughter of Njemakati, is buried in Sifuti, meaning ‘I am the shoulder and the head carrying everything’</p>		
<p>18. As the times have changed and we have become a part of other people</p> <p>19. Mbuyu, daughter to Mwambwa, granddaughter of Njemekati and Ushaa, is the Lozi ancestress who originated from Sudan, migrated to Kola in Congo, and eventually settled in Barotseland with her children</p> <p>20. Mbuyu had more powers as a Queen compared to her mother Mbuyu</p> <p>21. The cousinship of the Lundas and Luyi’s originates from the birth right of Mwambwa, mother to Mbuyu</p> <p>22. The Lozi myth of origin is that Nyambe once lived on earth and he had a wife and from that union is where human beings come from</p>	<p>collectivism</p>	<p>The Juxtaposition of matrifocal and patrilineal systems</p>

<p>23. The Lozi myth of origin is similar to other religious and spiritual stories, like the bible.</p> <p>24. Mbuyu was the first female ruler of the Luyana/Lozi people</p> <p>25. Rising in social status depends on primarily on age, followed by gender</p> <p>26. Mukwae Ngula is chosen by consensus</p> <p>27. Positions of power are gender balanced as in Natamoyo and Mukwae Ngula/Makoshi</p> <p>28. Positions of power are gender balanced as in Litunga and Litunga la Mboela</p> <p>29. Natamoyo and Mukwae Ngula perform similar functions.</p> <p>30. Children of the royal family embed unity and conflict resolution in Barotseland</p> <p>31. The queenships of Litunga la Mboela and Mboanjikana started following differences between two brothers Mubukwanu and Silumelume while they were ruling at Lwambi and Libonda, respectively.</p>		
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<p>32. To avoid any kind of power disputes, our ancestors brought harmony in the land by having the Litunga be a position for a male and the second in power, Litunga la Mboela be a female.</p> <p>33. Nyambe is the Heavenly God and the Litunga, our parents and Mbuyu are our earthly Gods</p>		
<p>34. Mbuyuwamwambwa, is a two-word name meaning Mbuyu daughter of Mwambwa</p> <p>35. Since the beginning of the Barotse Royal Establishment the Litunga has been chosen from a patrilineal descent of Mbuyu</p> <p>36. the first Litunga la Mboela was female and her name was Notulu</p> <p>37. Notulu's brother Mbanga was the 2nd Litunga la Mboela, followed by male leaders Yubya, Nakambe, Kusheu and Mubukwanu</p> <p>38. After Mubukwanu Notulu re-assumed power as Litunga la Mboela.</p>	<p>systems of descent</p>	<p>The Juxtaposition of matrifocal and patrilineal systems</p>

<p>39. After Notulu, Mwangala daughter of Mwanawina II was Litunga la Mboela</p> <p>40. Mwangala was later dethroned because it was felt she was too young to rule.</p> <p>41. After Matauka, all the Litungas la Mboela were female.</p> <p>42. Atangambuyu, daughter to Matauka took over from her mother as Litunga la Mboela</p> <p>43. In 1936 Atangambuyu was dethroned as Litunga la Mboela because she used to insult subjects</p> <p>44. After Atangambuyu, Mulima first born daughter to Yeta was Litunga la Mboela</p> <p>45. Makwibi reigned as Mboanjikana and she also reigned as Litunga la Mboela after Mulima</p> <p>46. In 1950 Makwibi Mbololwa Mwanawina took over as Mboanjikana in Libonda.</p> <p>47. After Makwibi came Lundambuyu, daughter to Lewanika become Mboanjikana</p>		
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<p>48. After Njikana there were no chiefs appointed to Libonda but caretakers or Senior Indunas. The first caretaker was Mukubesa, then Sikute Lingulunde then Ngeyana Miyunywa until Lewanika took reign</p> <p>49. Akatoka passed away in June 1930.</p> <p>50. The Litunga is chosen among the sons of previous Litungas</p> <p>51. The choice of the Litunga is patrilineal</p> <p>52. Mulena Mukwae Makwibi, daughter to King Mwanawina III, was Litunga la Mboela at the time of independence</p> <p>53. Mulena Mukwae Lundambuyu, daughter to Lewanika, was Mboanjikana at the time of independence</p>		
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Appendix 3: Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

Introduction

I am.....Chaze Matakala..... a student/researcher in the African Studies Unit of the University of Cape Town, South Africa. I am conducting research on issues related toThe construction of female power amongst the Lozi people of the Western Province of Zambia....., and I would like to ask some questions on these issues.

Purpose of Study

[Explain to the interviewee the purpose of study and how the information collected will be used]

Duration and Content of Interview

- The interview will take approximately1 hour..... I will ask a number of questions about the topic of my study.

Voluntary Participation

- I will conduct this interview with the understanding that you have freely accepted to take part in this study, and that you are not under any obligation to answer the questions that I will be asking. You are free to discontinue the interview at any time.

Confidentiality

- All the information gathered during this interview is confidential and will be solely used for the intended purposes of this study. I will not reveal to anyone your name or any form of your identity without your permission.
- Please select one:
- I give consent for my name to be used in the final research paper ☐
- I do not give consent for my name to be used in the final research paper ☐

Photograph, video and audio recording

- The interview will be recorded on audio and video for the purpose of this study. By taking part in this research you allow for your recorded voice, video and image, or all three of them, to be used as data in this research.
- I will not share your recorded voice, video and image other than for the purpose of this research without your permission.
- Copies of the audio, video and photograph material can be made available to you on request.

Benefits

- There are no direct personal benefits that you will get by participating in this study. However, the study will enhance our knowledge on the subject and the findings may be used by the community to engage with policies and programmes that are relevant to the community.

Information about Study

- Feel free at any time to ask questions to clarify anything related to this interview or study.

Consent

I freely consent to take part in this study understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop participating at any point should I not wish to continue. I also confirm that the purpose of the study has been fully explained to me. I understand that this is a research project whose purpose is not necessarily to benefit me personally in the immediate or short term. I also understand that my participation will remain confidential as indicated by my choice above.

Signature of Interviewee.....

Date.....

LIÑOLO LA TUMELELANO

Makalelo

Na kina Chaze Matakala, Mwana sikolo/Mubatisisi mwa sikwata sa African Studies kwa University ya Cape Town mwa South Africa. Nisweli kubatisisa litaba ze ama fa maata a basali mwa puso ya sizo sa Bulozzi mwa Zambia, mi neni itakaleza ku buza lipuzo fa litaba ze.

Mulelo wa patisiso ye

(Mutaluseze bao baba kabuziwa lipuzo mulelo wa patisiso ye nika moo zibo yeba kamifa ikaitusisezwa)

Nako ni zeo zeka amboliwa

Ngambolo yaluna ikanga nako yekona ku kuma fa hora iliñwi mi nikabuza lipuzo zeama fa patisiso yaka ye.

Kualaba ka tato yamina

Nikabe ni buzize lipuzo inge nina ni kutwisiso yakuli muka alaba lipuzo zeo ka tato yamina kusina ya mi susuelize. Haiba ba itakaleza kuli ngambolo isikazwela pili, bakona ku bulela cwalo inge balukuluhile nako ifi kapa ifi.

Kubuluka likunutu

- Litaba kaufela zeka amboliwa mwa patisiso ye likangiwa kuli ki likunutu mi lika itusiswa feela ona mwa patisiso ye. Hanina kupunya libizo lamina kapa kumi patulula ku mañi kapa mañi musikanifa sibaka kuli nieze cwalo.
- Na lumeleza kuli libizo laka lakona kuitusiswa mwa patisiso ye ☐
- Hani lumelezi kuli libizo laka li itusiswe mwa patisiso ye ☐

Kuswaniswa, kukopiwa vidio ni manzwi

- Ngambolo yaluna ikabe ikopilwe manzwi ni maswaniso fa vidio, zeo lika itusiswa feela mwa patisiso ye. Ka kulumela kubuziwa ni kualaba lipuzo mwa patisiso ye, balumeleza kuli linzwi ni siswaniso sabona zakona ku kopiwa fa vidio kono lika zeo lika itusiswa feela mwa musebezi wa patisiso ye.
- Hanina kufa linzwi, vidio kapa siswaniso sabona ku mutu ufi kapa ufi basika nifa sibaka kuli ni eze cwalo nikuli lika zeo kaufela lika itusiswa feela mwa musebezi wa patisiso ye.
- Makopi a manzwi, vidio ni maswaniso amina zakona kufiwa kumina haba baikupela cwalo.

Lituso

Hakuna lituso ze baka fumana kaku lumela kualaba lipuzo za patisiso ye. Nihakulicwalo, patisiso ye ikaekezwa kwa zibo yazeo ze batisiswa mi ze ka patululwa za kona kutusa kwa pili mwa zamaizo, zwelopili ni misebezi ya sicaba.

Makande a ama patisiso ye

Haiba bana ni lipuzo ze ama fa patisiso kapa musebezi wo, balukuluhe kubuza lipuzo sha.

Tumelo

Na itumelela ka kulukuluha kuli ni ka alaba lipuzo mwa patisiso ye. Na utwisisa kuli hakuna baba nihapelelize kuli ni eze cwalo. Hape na utwisisa kuli nakona kutuhela ku alaba lipuzo za patisiso ye ka tato yaka. Hape ni fitisa niti kuli mulelo wa patisiso ye ne utalusizwe kuna mwa kutala. Nautwisisa kuli musebezi o ki patisiso ya kuituta kwa sikolo mi mulelo waona haki kuli mwendi uka nitusa sesinñwi kacenu kamba kwa pata. Hape na utwisisa kuli likalabo zaka likaba kunutu sina kamo ni taluhanyelize kwa makalelo.

Nyatelo ya Mualabi.....

Lizazi.....